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SEPTEMBER, 1820.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. composed from his own Manuscripts and other Authentic Documents*, By Prince Hoare; *with Observations on Mr. Sharp's Biblical Criticisms, by the Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of St. David's.* 4to. pp. 589. London. Colburn, 1820.

IT might be difficult to find any appellation among the nulder class of vituperatives which conveys a more emphatic sneer than that of *a philanthropist*. There is nothing, indeed, in simple benevolence which partakes of a ridiculous or exceptionable character; but, whether from a tincture of infirmity and imbecility in some very good men, or from an incapacity in the world at large to conceive of the existence of such a quality as disinterested benevolence, or from the frequent real or supposed mixture of hypocrisy with loud pretensions to this virtue, or from the current identification of selfish policy with wisdom, and self-denial with mental weakness, or from the effort to avoid the reproach of wanting benevolence by disparaging the virtue itself, or from whatever other cause, it is very certain that a philanthropist is understood by very many to mean a sort of moral Quixote, who, standing in need of some engrossing pursuit, has chosen the one which best suited his humour or his interest. Persons styled philanthropists are therefore commonly divided into two classes—knaves and fools. That the knavish class is sufficiently large may be very true; and we presume it is so when we find that even empirics and lottery-offices issue their respective proposals solely "for the good of the public," and In-

quisitors torture their victims "*pour l'amour de Dieu.*" But, after all, *real* benevolence is to be found in the world; and it is greatly to be lamented that its influence should ever be impeded, or its existence rendered suspected, by the admixture of any thing imbecile or visionary with its operations.

In this view the character of Mr. Granville Sharp was somewhat open to exception. He had peculiarities which assisted the opposition made to his plans by those who could not estimate his virtues, or were excited by self-interest to oppose his benevolent projects. He had, like many other good, and we may add *great* men, his peculiar views on many subjects,—views not always dictated by the good sense which guided his other opinions and influenced his general conduct. The benevolent Bishop Berkley, "blessed," as Pope says, "with every virtue under heaven," was the champion of tar-water; Jonas Hanway fought as vehemently against souchong and hyson as Don Quixote against windmills; and Howard himself was a complete visionary in the education of his child. We are not, therefore, scrupulous to have it concealed that Mr. Sharp had also his weak points; and, in particular, that his views of Scripture prophecy, and its application to the times in which he lived, were characterised by certain strange fancies, of which it was not the least singular that the spring of 1811 was to be the commencement of the Millennium. Some of his *inferences* also from the fundamental principles of political liberty were not such as the existing condition of the world would admit of being reduced to practice; and Mr. Sharp was not to be induced to soften down his principles from fear of censure, or to court the approbation of those who differed from him in opinion by a sacrifice of what he considered to be truth. He had none of the worldly policy which might induce him to conceal what it might be disadvantageous to his interest to disclose. He was transparent wherever his conscience dictated the duty of promulging his opinion; and of this duty he considered himself the proper judge. But trivial, indeed, were the failings of this eminent man when compared with his numerous virtues, exhibited in a long life of purity, integrity, piety, and unwearied beneficence. Whether we view him as a scholar or a philanthropist, as a Christian or a churchman, it is impossible not to feel the highest veneration for his character, and to be deeply grateful for the benefits which he was the instrument of conferring upon the world.

Granville Sharp had the happiness of springing from a family in which piety, virtue, and benevolence, seemed almost hereditary. His grandfather was the venerable Archbishop Sharp of York, of whom some notices occur in the volume before us

which have not before appeared in the biographical narratives of that learned prelate. The church, it seems, was indebted for so valuable an ornament to the assiduous instructions of his mother; who, at the hazard of the displeasure of General Lord Fairfax, the intimate friend of her husband, and a frequent inmate in their family, contrived to elude all the searches which were made for Common Prayer books in every house, and preserved those of her family; one of which she put into the hands of her son, instructing him to love and value it. The child was particularly delighted with the Litany; but we are not informed what his father, who was a zealous puritan, said upon the occasion. The fervour of his father's devotions, however, added to the orthodox churchmanship of his mother, seems to have early and deeply impressed the mind of this eminent prelate, whose conduct throughout life was marked by great piety, disinterestedness, and benevolence. Long before he was a bishop himself, the Lord Chancellor Finch entrusted him with the entire charge of recommending proper persons for the numerous preferments in his Lordship's gift; and among the names of those who rose by his influence were Archbishop (then Dean) Tillotson, Bishops Bull and Beveridge, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Bentley, Dr. Potter, Dr. Mill, Dr. Hales, and Dr. Grube, all men of great eminence as divines and scholars. The Archbishop never altered his principles or practices with the frequent changes in those unhappy times; he censured the Romish religion before James II, and prayed for that monarch before the Prince of Orange and the House of Commons, till the service was altered by due authority. He accepted the archbishoprick of York only because Tillotson informed him that the King was displeased with his frequent rejection of preferment, thinking it a sort of personal affront to himself.

Thomas, the youngest son of the Archbishop, and the father of Granville, was made Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1722, and was distinguished for his integrity, piety, and indefatigable exertion in the discharge of his important duties. His printed works amount to six volumes. He was deeply versed in ecclesiastical studies, and was highly successful in his controversy with Hutchinson the Hebraist. With an enlightened zeal beyond the spirit of the times in which he lived, he supported five or more schools at his own expense, into which he admitted the children of Roman Catholics and sectaries, and thus promoted, in a surprising degree, the good order, diligence, and peace of his parishes.

Of the five sons of this excellent man who arrived at maturity, Granville was the youngest. John, the eldest, succeeded to most of his father's dignities in the church, and is honourably known

as the munificent patron of the singular charitable establishment at Bamburgh Castle. The castle is situated on an almost perpendicular rock close to the sea, on a spot where once, it is said, stood the palace of the kings of Northumberland, built by Ida, about the year 560. The rock in modern times was only known as the terror of seamen. Dr. Sharp, partly at his own expense, and partly as a trustee of Lord Crewe's charity, cleared out and roofed the great tower, dividing its ample extent into a hospital for the sick and incurable; apartments for granaries for the distribution of corn in times of scarcity to the indigent; halls for manor-courts; schools for the poor; cold and warm baths, and other well-meant charitable establishments. But the protection of mariners on that dangerous shore being the chief object of the foundation, a constant watch was kept, a flag was hoisted, guns were regularly fired morning and evening, rockets sent up in the night, and a bell tolled in foggy weather, while assistants on horseback patrolled the shore during every violent storm; and premiums were distributed among those who brought the first intelligence of a vessel in danger, or who succeeded in conveying succour.

Thomas, the second son, was an accomplished scholar and exemplary parish priest. William raised himself to great reputation as a skilful surgeon; and James to affluence as a man of business. Our author has presented his readers with a parallel between William and his brother Granville, which will serve to show the character of the latter.

"When you addressed yourself to William, you waked at once the attention of a benevolent and affectionate spirit, that anxiously bent towards you, with the desire of contributing instantly to your relief; of one who felt, no less than the sufferer, the pain he witnessed; who strove to soothe the irksome sense of human infirmity, and to reconcile the afflicted to themselves. His looks spoke the compassion of his heart, and his presence brought comfort, even (though that was rare) where his skill failed to afford relief. In *Granville*, benevolence and charity were not less prominently conspicuous, but they appeared divested of that keenness of sensibility which so quickly and irresistibly endeared the character of William. Granville's benevolence was pure and complacent, without anxiety,—without other motion than that of an upright and generous spirit, steadily and actively discharging his Maker's commission. The expression of his sentiments was wholly free from disguise. Although his habitual charity of mind taught him to love the man whose opinion he chastised, he did not palliate error, nor veil the severest truth: what he spoke, you might at all times be sure was from the consent of his whole heart; all was simple, all was sterling.—Such were the nice features of distinction, in two men eminently united in every amiable and friendly quality, eminently pure, religious, charitable, and useful to mankind." (P. 20.)

Granville was born at Durham, November 10, in the year 1735. His father's fortune having been principally expended upon his elder brothers, Granville's share was employed in apprenticing him in London, to the business of a linen-draper. He had here an unusual opportunity of seeing the habits of different sects, which was of great utility to him in the sequel of his life, by enabling him to apply his arguments in the manner most likely to conciliate and persuade the minds of the various parties with whom he became connected in the prosecution of his benevolent projects. His father, though a dignified clergyman, had bound him to one Halsey, a Quaker; the Quaker dying in three years, he was transferred to a Mr. Willoughby, a Presbyterian or Independent; after which he lived with an Irish papist; and lastly with a master who had "no religion at all." A series of controversies with an inmate of his master's house, who happened to be a Socinian, led him to study Greek, his opponent constantly alleging, when Granville quoted the New Testament, that the original would not admit of his interpretation. He acquired Hebrew from a similar motive, in order to confute a Jew, who also resided under the same roof.

During his apprenticeship, he had the good fortune to raise his presbyterian employer (Justice Willoughby) to the honours of the peerage; for having discovered that that gentleman, who had treated him with great kindness, had a rightful claim to the title of Baron de Parham, he exerted himself so successfully, that Mr. Willoughby's claim was admitted by the House of Lords, in which assembly he sat for the remainder of his life.

The death of his father having left Mr. Sharp at liberty, he quitted business, and procured, in 1758, a subordinate appointment in the ordnance office. Of the next six years of his life we hear little, except that he attended diligently to the duties of his station, and completed his great attainments in languages; his hours of study being chiefly snatched from sleep. Soon after this period his character began to unfold itself. The learned Dr. Kennicott had published proposals, in the year 1760, for printing, by subscription, a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, conformably to one of the best editions then extant, with a design to insert *in the margin, or at the foot of the page*, the various readings of other editions, and such corrections of the text as appeared to him to be necessary. But during the progress of the subscription, the learned critic appears so far to have changed his design, as to have contemplated the more hazardous project of printing a Hebrew Bible, in which the conjectural and other emendations were to be admitted *into the body of the text*. With a view to show the necessity for such a castigatory process, he printed and handed about a paper, entitled, "A catalogue of

the sacred vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews who returned from the captivity: together with the names of the returning families, and the number of the persons at that time in each family, disposed in such a manner as to show most clearly *the great corruption of proper names and numbers in the present text of the Old Testament.*" Alarmed at the project of Dr. Kennicott, as being fatal to the integrity of the sacred text, and calculated to weaken the faith of unlearned Christians, Mr. Sharp, whom his uncle jocosely compared to David attacking and wounding Goliath, drew up in reply a tractate, in which he questioned his learned opponent's authorities and deductions, examining them by the test of numerous Hebrew names and roots, and boldly accusing that celebrated Hebraist of drawing his instances of textual corruption from the English version only, without reference to the original. The progress and the result of this affair were equally honourable to Mr. Sharp. His aim being not to show his own learning, or to gain reputation as an author, but solely to prevent what he considered a serious evil in sacred literature, he did not publish his tract, but distributed it gratuitously, and to such persons only as could produce a copy of Dr. Kennicott's own printed proposals. The issue was, that Dr. Kennicott was obliged to confine himself to his original plan, of publishing the text entire, and throwing his *variorum* readings into the margin; upon hearing which, remarks Mr. Sharp, "I gave up all thoughts of printing what I had prepared to oppose him, and subscribed to his work." That Mr. Sharp's youthful contest with this literary veteran did not disturb that amicable spirit which distinguished him on all occasions, we may learn from the following entry in his memoranda during a temporary leave of absence from the ordnance office: "August 20, 1775, Sunday, Oxford: went to church at Saint Mary's—went to visit Dr. Kennicott—*drank tea with Dr. Kennicott.*"

The delicacy and pecuniary disinterestedness shown by Mr. Sharp in this transaction, extended to his numerous other publications, of which only two, *out of more than fifty*, were printed by himself for sale. His usual plan was to distribute his writings gratuitously in those quarters in which he considered it desirable for them to circulate; and to this object he devoted a considerable part of his little stipend, after supplying his own very few wants and fewer wishes, and relieving to the utmost of his power, and often, perhaps, beyond the measure of prudence, the necessities of others. The spirit in which he both drew up and distributed his writings, appears from his confidential letters to his friends. He says, for example, to his brother William, "I have finished my 'Warning to the Quakers,'

a copy of which is inclosed in this parcel for you; but you must not part with it to any other person, because I am under promise to the Quakers not to give it to any persons but members of their society, except occasionally to a Roman Catholic or a Swedenborgian." A similar remark occurs in his papers respecting the Roman Catholics themselves, against whose principles he evinced extraordinary zeal, while to the individuals he behaved with the utmost kindness and urbanity. The two tracts, above excepted, were, one on "The Injustice of tolerating Slavery in Great Britain," the public nature and great importance of which probably induced him to consider it as a proper exception to his rule; and his work on "The Greek Article," which he says, in one of his private manuscripts, "was postponed or neglected from 1778 to 1798, and would not even then have been published if my very worthy and learned friend, Dr. Burgess, now Bishop of Saint David's, had not undertaken to be the editor of it. He printed two different editions of it; and the bitter objections of some scurrilous Socinians spurred me up at last to answer them in a third edition."

About the period of Mr. Sharp's friendly controversy with Dr. Kennicott, his attention was first directed to that great subject which engrossed so much of his future life, the amelioration, and, if possible, the ultimate abolition of slavery. In this connexion the name of Granville Sharp will be handed down to posterity, with the eulogies of men of every sect and party. The dissenter will not admire his strict attachment to the church, nor the man of the world his earnest piety; the statesman may feel suspicious of some of his political speculations, and the sober divine of his prophetical conjectures; but his exertions on the subject of the slave trade and slavery will endear him to all who have not an unworthy interest in the enormities which it was the effort of his valuable life to abolish. The panegyrist of Granville Sharp might be well content to sink his other claims; he might forbear to mention that he threw around both the sacred languages a new beam of light which has been of essential service in rescuing the Scriptures from the misinterpretations of heretical minds; he might pass over his benevolent labours in the cause of depressed and suffering humanity; he might omit his successful efforts for the introduction of episcopacy into the United States of North America; he might forget that his name stood first in the list of those who convened the meeting (of which meeting also he was the chairman) for forming that eminently useful institution, which has since ramified itself throughout the Christian world, and carried the sacred treasures of revealed wisdom, unentan-

gled by human system, and unclouded by fallible comment, to the extremities of the earth;—all this, and much more, the eulogist might be well content to obliterate from his narration, in order to place in single and majestic prominence the historical record, that Granville Sharp was the personal abolitionist of African slavery in England, and the first and chief agent in the ultimate extinction of that abominable traffic which for so many years swelled the catalogue of our national sins, and poured terror and devastation over a large portion of the human race.

The incipient events which led to this result, are probably familiar to many of our readers; we shall therefore only touch upon a few cursory points necessary to illustrate the personal history of Mr. Sharp. At the period when this venerable philanthropist began his career, the condition of negro slaves imported into this country was undecided by judicial authority. The humane and inflexibly upright Chief Justice Holt had, indeed, given his opinion many years before, that as soon as a negro comes into England he is free, because "one may be a villeyn in England, but not a slave." But, in opposition to this authority, and to obviate its effects on the West India interest, an opinion was procured by some interested persons in 1729, from the Attorney and Solicitor General, York and Talbot, declaring, that "a slave by coming from the West Indies to England or Ireland, either with or without his master, *doth not* become free, and his master's property or right in him is not thereby determined or varied;" "we are also of opinion," they add, "that his master may legally compel him to return again to the plantations." So deep an impression was made on the public, and even on the members of the legal profession, by the wide and artful circulation given to this opinion, that, in spite of instances which had actually occurred of slaves being liberated upon the principle set down by Chief Justice Holt, Mr. Sharp was informed, even by his own professional advocates, that it would be useless to suffer the point to be tried, especially as Lord Mansfield, to whom it would fall to decide it, and whose legal weight was accustomed to sway both the bar and the bench, was confessedly of the same opinion with York and Talbot. The great doubt which hung over the point may be still further inferred from the following curious circumstance. Mr. Sharp had noticed, among the authorities in his favour, a passage from Judge Blackstone, declaring, that "a negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and becomes *eo instanti*, a freeman." This passage being quoted on one of the trials in which Mr. Sharp was engaged, the opposite counsel produced in court the volume from which the quotation was professed to be taken, and challenged the con-

tending party to find any such assertion. It amazed, but did not daunt Mr. Sharp to discover that the passage, *as produced in court*, was only that a negro on landing in England "falls under the protection of the laws, and *so far* becomes a freeman, though his master's right to his service may *possibly* continue." It afterwards appeared that Dr. Blackstone had altered the passage in the course of these trials; and we recollect to have seen or heard it stated some years ago, that Mr. Sharp informed a friend that Blackstone confessed himself to have made this, as well as some other alterations respecting the liberty of the subject, at the express suggestion of Lord Mansfield himself.

The disrespect shown at this time for human freedom, as regarded the unfortunate African race, was so flagrant, that our common newspapers not unfrequently contained advertisements for the sale of slaves in common with live and dead stock. One, for example, quoted from the Gazetteer of April 18, 1769, classes together for sale, "at the Bull and Gate, Holborn, a chesnut gelding, a Tim whisky, and *a well made good-tempered black boy*." Rewards were frequently offered for securing fugitives, and conveying them to specified ships in the river Thames; with, however, a proviso, which proved that the parties had either some fear or some shame left, or at least thought the public had —"*The utmost secrecy may be depended on.*" Our American colonies were more unblushing in their slave transactions. "To be sold," says the New York Journal of October 22, 1767, "a healthy negro wench, of about twenty-one years old; is a tolerable cook, and capable of doing all sorts of house-work; can be well recommended for her honesty and sobriety; she has *a female child of nigh three years old*, which will be sold *with the wench*, IF REQUIRED!" The revengeful spirit displayed in the two following advertisements, is justly denominated by our author as "next to infernal." The first is from the Williamsburg Gazette, in Virginia: "Run away from the subscriber, a lusty, strong, bony negro fellow, named Bob, of a brownish complexion, &c. &c. The said fellow is *outlawed*, and I will give *ten pounds reward* for his head *severed from his body*, or *forty shillings if brought alive*." The other advertisement from the North Carolina newspaper is to the same effect, with the addition of an allusion to an act of Assembly by which a slave absenting himself from his master's service three months, was outlawed, and being outlawed, a certain sum was allowed to any person who would kill him, and bring his head duly certificated to his master.

Such was the state of legal opinion, and such the apathy of the public on this great question, both in Great Britain and her American colonies, when Mr. Sharp's celebrated case of the negro, Jonathan Strong, came on for hearing before Lord Mans-

field. Strong was the slave of David Lisle, a lawyer, at Barbadoes, who had treated him with such barbarity that he had by degrees rendered him quite useless, and at length had turned him adrift in the streets of London. Strong, in his casual rambles, was recommended by a stranger to apply at the surgery of Mr. William Sharp for medical assistance, having been greatly injured in his person and health by cruel treatment. At the surgery he happened to meet Granville, who, with his brother's assistance, succeeded in restoring him to health, and procured him a comfortable situation in the service of a respectable apothecary. Here he remained two years; till being accidentally recognized behind a carriage by his old master, Lisle, who perceived that he was again capable of service, he was a few days after seized by stratagem, and conveyed to the Poultry Compter. Mr. Sharp, as soon as he heard of the detention, gave information to the Lord Mayor that a person of the name of Strong was confined in that prison without a warrant, and procured his appearance at the Mansion House, where two persons attended to claim him in virtue of a bill of sale, signed by Lisle. The Lord Mayor decided that "as the lad had not stolen any thing, and was not guilty of any offence," he was at liberty to go away; upon which the captain, who was waiting to carry him off to Jamaica, seized him; but being charged by Mr. Sharp for an assault, quitted his hold, and Strong walked out of court, following his benevolent liberator.

In consequence of these transactions, Mr. Sharp was in a few days charged by a writ with having robbed Lisle of his slave, and various efforts were made to intimidate him. Lisle went so far as to call on him in person, and after many angry, but ineffectual, denunciations of revenge, attempted to provoke him by a challenge, in which he asked for "gentlemanlike satisfaction." Mr. Sharp coolly replied, that as Mr. Lisle had studied the law so many years, "he should want no satisfaction which the law could give him." He was not, however, then aware of the difficulties in the way of his defence, "never," he says, "having once opened a law book to consult it till on occasion of the present cause." The result of his application to counsel we have already mentioned. But it was not the character of Mr. Sharp to despair. "Forsaken," he remarks, "by my professional defenders, I was compelled, through the want of regular legal assistance, to make a hopeless attempt at self-defence; though I was totally unacquainted either with the practice of the law, or the foundations of it; having never opened a law book, *except the Bible,* in my life until that time, when I most reluctantly undertook to search the indexes of a law library, which my bookseller had lately purchased." In

consequence of this resolution, Mr. Sharp gave himself, for nearly two years, to an intense study of the English laws with regard to *the liberty of person;* and collected an immense mass of matter bearing on the subject, the principal parts of which he condensed into a tract, the substance of which was handed about, in more than twenty manuscript copies, among the gentlemen of the law, for nearly two years, during which Lisle contrived to suspend the action. This tract produced such an effect that Lisle at length declined bringing forward the action at all, and was in consequence compelled to pay triple costs. The great point at issue therefore remained undecided.

The case of Hylas next occurred. Hylas and Mary were slaves, and being such were brought over to England in 1754; where they were married by consent of their respective master and mistress. In 1766, Mary was sent away to the West Indies without her husband's consent, and the present action was brought for damages. The decision was in favour of the plaintiff; and the defendant was bound, under a penalty, to bring back the woman, and restore her to Hylas within six months. Some technical circumstances, however, prevented this case being ranked as an authoritative decision on the abstract question, whether a slave remains such in Great Britain.

Neither was the case of Lewis, which Mr. Sharp next brought forward, decisive. Lewis had been the slave of Stapylton, who, with the aid of two watermen, hired for that purpose, seized Lewis in a dark night, and after a struggle dragged him on his back into the Thames; and having tied his legs, and gagged his mouth with a stick, rowed him down to a vessel bound for Jamaica, the master of which was privy to the plot. The servants of Mrs. Banks (the mother of the late Sir Joseph Banks), who resided near the spot, noticed the struggle, and stated the circumstances to their mistress, who applied to Mr. Sharp to know how to act. In consequence, a warrant was procured, and sent on board the vessel at Gravesend, but was too late, the ship having set sail for the Downs. A writ of habeas corpus was therefore obtained, after some delay, arising from the accidental necessity of applying successively to several magistrates, and was served on board the vessel. It is probably to this case that Mr. Clarkson alludes in the following passage quoted by our author:

"'The vessel on board which a poor African had been dragged and confined, had reached the Downs, and had actually got under weigh for the West Indies. In a few hours it would have been out of sight. Just at this critical moment, the writ of habeas corpus was carried on board. The officer who served it, saw the miserable captive chained to the main-mast, bathed in tears, and casting a last mournful look on the land

of freedom, which was just receding from his sight. The captain, on receiving the writ, became outrageous; but knowing the serious consequences of resisting the laws of the land, he gave up his prisoner, whom the officer carried safe, but now crying for joy, to the shore.'" (P. 69.)

A bill, preferred by Mr. Sharp, was found against Stapylton, and the two watermen; but in order to throw difficulties in the way, and to increase the expenses of the prosecution, the cause was removed by the defendants into the King's Bench, where it came on before Lord Mansfield, Feb. 20, 1771. The defence was simply that Lewis was Stapylton's slave, so that the important point, it was hoped, would at length be decided; but Lord Mansfield avoided bringing the question to issue by discharging the negro on another ground, namely, that the defendant had not proved even his nominal property in the plaintiff. It was, on this occasion, that Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, one of the counsel for the negro, holding up Mr. Sharp's manuscript tract in his hand, declared himself prepared to maintain in any court in Great Britain, that *no man can be legally detained as a slave in this country*. Lord Mansfield seems to have been much embarrassed on the occasion; his former opinion in favour of the slave-holder, having apparently been considerably shaken by Mr. Sharp's arguments; for such those of his counsel confessedly were; and his Lordship went so far as to declare that it might be much better if the question were never finally set to rest, adding: "I don't know what the consequences might be if the masters were to lose their property by accidentally bringing their slaves to England. I hope it never will be finally discussed, for I would have all masters think them free, and all negroes think they were not, because then they would both behave better." But though the decision was in favour of the negro, Lord Mansfield waved giving judgment against the defendant, and expressed surprise that the prosecutors should demand it. Mr. Sharp drew up a strong protest against this procedure, which, however, as appears from a manuscript note, he "reserved to himself till there should be absolute necessity for disclosing it," not wishing to excite public prejudice, especially against a person in authority. When he afterwards had occasion to communicate his observations on the case to his own counsel in a similar cause, he did it under an injunction of secresy; and so anxious was he to avoid ostentation, or irritating the minds of the parties concerned, and especially Lord Mansfield, that he seldom was seen in court, and carefully declined any visible interference. Indeed, so far did he carry his modesty, that he seldom mentions his own part in the proceedings, even in his private letters. In writing, for instance, to Mrs. Banks, he requests her acceptance of a copy of the trial, written from short-hand notes, "because a

view of the diligence and adroitness of her counsel on that occasion may probably afford her both entertainment and satisfaction." Not a hint occurs that he himself had furnished the outline of argument. Again, in his private notes, it appears that he went *in person* for a warrant for Lewis; but in the account drawn up by him for perusal, he merely says, generally, that *Mrs. Banks's servants* procured a warrant. These little circumstances show at once his unaffected modesty, his Christian humility, and his knowledge of mankind. The reader must not, however, suppose that he was *too unostentatious* to give his pecuniary assistance, because he withheld his name. Not only in the cases which may be peculiarly called his own, was his purse employed; but even in that of the negro protected by Mrs. Banks, he offered, out of his pittance, to undertake any part of the expense, as he had been the cause of the affair's taking a more expensive course than was at first proposed. The whole work before us abounds with similar traits of character.

Mr. Sharp having been successful in all these trials, continued to liberate other captives as occasion offered. But while the essential point remained undecided, no security was afforded, from the apprehensions justly excited by the pertinacious avarice and tyranny of the slave-holders and slave-dealers. At length the important case of James Somerset, selected, it is said, at the desire both of Lord Mansfield and Mr. Sharp, settled the question as to the right of the British soil to embrace in its constitutional freedom all who touch upon its shores, of whatever clime or nation. At the commencement of this trial, Lord Mansfield declared, that "if it should come fairly to the general question, whatever the opinion of the court might be, even if they were all agreed on one side or the other, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that from the nature of the question, he should certainly take the opinion of all the judges upon it." From this declaration, Mr. Sharp perceived that he should have to contend with all the strength that could be brought against him; and it came out on the trial that the master was backed, and the expenses paid, by the West India interest; but happily for his cause, his exertions had awakened so great a sympathy for the unfortunate objects of his protection, that he received the most generous offers of professional assistance, and none of the five eminent counsel who pleaded his cause (Sergeants Davy and Glynn, and Messrs. Mansfield, Hargrave, and Alleyne), would receive any remuneration for their exertions. Lord Mansfield, after repeated postponements, being obliged at length to give judgment, stated, that though he had at first thought to put the case in a more solemn way of argument, yet as all the judges present were

unanimous, it would be injustice not to give a decision. That decision we need not add was in favour of liberty; and it certainly ought to excite respect for that eminent judge, that he so patiently heard, and acknowledged himself convinced by, arguments which controverted all his former assertions and proceedings on this great question. His Lordship seems, however, to have dreaded the effects of his own decision; for in one of his adjournments of the decision, we find him throwing out the following intelligible hint: "If the merchants," said his Lordship, "think the question of great consequence to trade and commerce, and the public should think so too, they had better think of an application to those who will *make* a law. *We* must *find* the law; we cannot make it." This important cause was decided June 22, 1772.

We must pass over a variety of other efforts made by Mr. Sharp, in favour of African slaves, while these trials were going forward. We must also be almost equally brief on the other transactions of his life during this period.

The zeal and ability which he had manifested in his controversy with Dr. Kennicott, as well as his personal regard to religion, and his unwearied philanthropy, induced his uncle, the Rev. G. Wheler, Esq. (so that gentleman chose to be called, as the son of a knight) to urge him to enter the church; with the promise of resigning a valuable living of his own in his favour. Mr. Sharp constantly declined this generous proposal, from a fear that he was deficient in the qualifications necessary for the function; for which, however, it should be added, he confessed he had no particular predilection. Distaste for the doctrines or discipline of the church was certainly no part of his motive in declining this valuable offer; for throughout life, though mixing with men of every sect, he retained that strong attachment to the established church which might be expected from his sober piety, not less than from his early associations.

Among Mr. Sharp's correspondents, on the great subject which now occupied his thoughts, began to be numbered, not only many eminent persons in Great Britain, but several leading characters in the United States of America, where his first publications against slavery had been extensively circulated, and had produced considerable effect. The Quakers, in particular, seconded his efforts; or rather had preceded them; for so long before as 1754, a public acknowledgment had been drawn up and circulated by the members of that persuasion in the United States, in which they declare their conviction that "to live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity nor common justice." Shortly after this declaration, a general

emancipation of slaves belonging to persons of that sect, was agreed upon and begun.* The example was more admired than imitated; and, in fact, produced little public effect, till the proceedings in the English courts, and Mr. Sharp's diligent exertions, co-operating with the zeal of Mr. Anthony Benezet, a Quaker at Philadelphia, excited further attention to the subject.

The progress of this affair accidentally connected Mr. Sharp with American politics; for the State of Virginia and other provinces having proposed to apply to the British parliament for an amendment of their laws respecting the importation of slaves, and Mr. Sharp being written to on the subject, he stated in reply his opinion, that the representatives of Great Britain had nothing to do with the internal laws of their States, in reference to which it was proper for them to address none but the king and his council. This doctrine had been acted upon *in fact* two years before, during the contest occasioned by the efforts of our ministry to impose internal taxes on the colonies. But it had hitherto been applied only to cases of revenue; whereas Mr. Sharp now brought it forward as a *general principle;* and his arguments, as might be expected, were highly agreeable to the prevailing temper of the colonies. Copies of his letter were widely circulated; and tended greatly to strengthen the feeling of the Americans, with regard to the independence of their respective assemblies on the British parliament. It was about this very period that Dr. Franklin mentions in a letter, dated Dec. 2, 1772, that in a conversation with Lord Dartmouth, he had remarked to his Lordship, that he "might observe that petitions came no more from America *to the parliament*, but to *the king only*."

Our readers will be inclined to judge of Mr. Sharp's conduct on this great question, partly according to their private sentiments as to the doctrine itself which he advanced, partly in connexion with its consequences in the dismemberment of the American colonies, and partly with reference to the nature of the duty of patriotism, and how far it ought to have influenced Mr. Sharp to suppress opinions, which, whether right or wrong, were hostile to the interests, or at least to the measures, of his own country. These points we shall leave them to debate at their leisure; while we proceed to state what was the principle which uniformly actuated Mr. Sharp in all political as well as moral questions. It was simply this, to ascertain to the best of his judgment what was abstractedly right, and to act upon it without

* The late Mr. West, the venerable president of the Royal Academy, informed our author that his father, a Pennsylvanian Quaker, was the first person who liberated his slaves, about twenty years *previously* to the above declaration.

any reference to consequences or expediency. We find him thus stating his views in a letter some years after (1781) to Lord Carysfort: "This is the compendium or sum total of all my politics; so that I include them in a very small compass: I am thoroughly convinced that *right* ought to be adopted and maintained on all occasions, without regard to consequences, either probable or possible; for these, when we have done our duty as honest men—must after all be left to the disposal of Divine Providence, which hath declared a blessing in favour of right. 'Blessed are the keepers of judgment, and he that doeth righteousness at all times.'"

But those who least approve of Mr. Sharp's politics will admire that disinterested integrity which led him, though placed in a subordinate station in the employment of government, to state fearlessly, yet modestly, and with an urbanity which never forsook him, his principles and convictions on some important subjects in which he conscientiously felt it his duty to differ in opinion from his superiors. We have seen his disinterested conduct on the slave question; and the American war put his principles to a new trial. We find among his papers a minute dated July 28, 1775, in which he says, "Large demands of ordnance stores being ordered to be got ready with all expedition, I thought it right to declare my objections to being in any way concerned in that unnatural business, and was advised by Mr. Boddington to ask leave of absence for two months, as the board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation." This indulgence was readily granted, and was renewed from time to time in deference to his conscientious scruples for *nearly two years;* his superiors feeling such high esteem for his character, and confidence in his abilities, that they were unwilling to relinquish his services till the progress of the war rendered it absolutely necessary, in order to supply his place. He offered his whole salary, during his absence, to be divided among his colleagues.

Mr. Sharp was now entirely destitute; for he had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance, and the emoluments of his office, in acts of bounty. But the affectionate attachment of his brothers, all of whom were now prosperous in life, brought them instantly around him with the most delicate and liberal offers of permanent assistance. The mutual affection and benevolence of the whole family induced them to consider the presence of Mr. Granville Sharp as an inmate under any one of their roofs, as a desirable accession to their circle; in addition to which, his brothers placed an annual sum of money at his disposal, which they soon afterwards commuted for a fixed *capital* instead of income, in order to preclude any feelings of con-

ditional dependence upon their bounty. Their letters, on his quitting his office, are a delightful specimen of family harmony. "I will now speak for my brother William, as well as myself (says James); we are both ready and willing, and, God be thanked, at present *able*, to take care that the loss of this official station shall be none to you, and all that we ask in return is, that you will continue to live among us as you have hitherto done, without imagining that you will be burdensome to us; and also without supposing that it will then be your duty to seek employment in some other way of life; for if we have what is needful amongst us, it matters not to whom it belongs." To which William adds, in a postscript, "Dear Granville, I most heartily approve of what my brother has written above, and I hope you will think of the matter as we do." This offer Mr. Sharp accepted; and continued to share the table and the purse of his excellent brothers for several years, till some bequests, and other circumstances, restored him to independence.

Thus disengaged from official duties, he began to devote himself more than ever to literary pursuits. The works which he had hitherto written, in addition to several on the slave question, were his answer to Dr. Kennicott, a Tract on Vocal Music;* another on the Pronunciation of the French and English Languages; another on the Encroachments of the River Thames; "Remarks on several important Prophecies;" a publication

* Mr. Sharp's family were naturally and scientifically musical. Mr. Sharp himself could both sing and play at sight with great facility. His musical barge on the Thames was frequented by some of the principal *amateurs* of that art; and was often visited by persons of great literary and political celebrity. The late king himself honoured Mr. Sharp with his presence on one of these occasions; and the visits of other members of the Royal family, and of the nobility and foreign ambassadors, were very frequent. After the death of one of the brothers (James) the survivors felt no pleasure in their customary excursions, and put up the barge for sale by auction, but bought it in and had it broken up, from an apprehension that it would be converted to a sort of tavern on the water. Mr. Shield, the master of his Majesty's band of musicians, speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Sharp's Tract on Vocal Music. The method proposed by Mr. Sharp of hitting the distances in singing he considers as perfectly original, never having been able to meet with it in any other musical treatise. It consists simply in using a known note as a sort of stepping stone to one unknown; for instance, if the student, on a note being sounded, cannot readily sound a *third* to it, let him *suppose* the intervening note; to find the tone of a *seventh* let him suppose the *octave* next to it; to hit a *sixth* let him first touch softly (or rather *silently*) upon the *fifth*, &c. We shall not contend against Mr. Shield that the rule is not original; but we believe that many, perhaps most, singers will find themselves almost instinctively doing something of the kind in practice. It may be proper to add in this note that Mr. Sharp's musical gratifications were dedicated to devotional purposes. He was particularly attached to *sacred* music; and would frequently walk from Fulham to St. Paul's to attend the cathedral service. He would sometimes playfully sign himself by a musical pun

against Duelling; and two on "the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature," in reference both to American and Irish politics. Mr. Sharp's style, as a writer, was confused and inelegant, but his matter was frequently valuable. He had to the end of life to lament the want of that early initiation into polite literature which his destination for business had precluded. It is indeed surprising that he could effect all that has been mentioned, both in the way of authorship and benevolent exertion; for in one of his letters to Mr. Benezet on the slave-trade, he remarks, as an apology for not writing earlier, "I am really a sort of slave myself, being obliged to employ every day in the week constantly in the ordinary business of my office, and having no holidays but Sundays, as the branch that I am in requires more attendance than any in the whole office."

Among the many subjects to which we find Mr. Sharp devoting his attention after his retirement from the Ordnance-office, one was the impressment of seamen. He was particularly interested in the well-known case of Millachip, and published two or three tracts on the general question. The Attorney-General met that case on the open ground of an authorized right of pressing, agreeably to the warrant of the Lords of the Admiralty; but the discussion of the abstract question was waved by Lord Mansfield, who discharged Millachip on a peculiar ground. His Lordship stated that "that was the first return to a writ of Habeas Corpus upon a man's being impressed, that ever existed." "It is a late time of day," he added, "never to have had a precedent; but it is a matter of great consequence to the public service to put it in a right way, that whoever ought to be pressed may be pressed without litigation; and whoever ought not to be pressed, and are pressed, may have a speedy way of getting their liberty." In the course of his exertions on this subject, Mr. Sharp's notes record an interview with Dr. Johnson, in which the latter said that a liability to impressment "was a condition necessarily attending that way of life; and when men entered into it they must take it with all its circumstances." Mr. Sharp seems to have been baffled at the moment with Dr. Johnson's power of argumentation, but he did not therefore relinquish his object. Dr. Johnson bluntly told him that the cruelty, if any existed, was solely with those who excite attention to such subjects, and render men unhappy by persuading them they are so. Mr. Sharp seems to have alluded to this conversation when he says, in a manuscript note, after stating the arguments just recited; "All this has been urged to me with such *plausible sophistry* and *important self-sufficiency* in the speaker, as if he supposed that the mere sound of words was capable of altering the nature of things; as if there were no

distinction between good and evil; but the circumstances of persons or occasions might render it expedient or necessary to practise the one as well as the other. Thus the tyrant's plea of *necessity* is made to remove all bounds of law, morality, and common right." Mr. Sharp, alluding to Dr. Johnson's argument in a letter to a friend, contends that, "if it be true that men choosing a sea-faring life do thereby forfeit their natural rights and privileges as Englishmen, and lose the protection of the law, some immediate remedy ought to be applied to remove so unjust a *præmunire* from an honest and necessary calling." Our readers will readily perceive how impossible it was for two men setting out on such different principles to coalesce in their conclusions. The one viewed the thing abstractedly, the other prescriptively; the one as connected with the primeval rights of man; the other as mixed with existing usages to which all parties are supposed to have tacitly consented. To this, Mr. Sharp would probably have argued in reply that the seaman did *not* consent to this part of the supposed compact, and therefore was not bound by it. Such an argument may, indeed, be carried much too far; a man may not allow that he has consented to be imprisoned if he defrauds his creditor, or to be hanged if he commits high treason. Still there can be no doubt that Mr. Sharp's argument was substantially true, that nothing can be "politically right which is morally wrong." Happily, in the present question, there is a plain and easy way of securing the intended advantage without violating the liberty of the subject; namely, by making it worth a seaman's while to enter the service by suitable pay and privileges, as is done in many other countries, and particularly in the United States of America, where impressment is unknown. Taxed as we are, and necessarily must be, we should not be reluctant to contribute our humble share towards placing the king's service on a level with the merchants', or even to make it an object of competition, in order to avoid the impress system, which certainly partakes more of partial duress than any thing else known to our *practice*, for we hardly know whether we ought to say—to our *constitution*. Mr. Sharp seems to have given up the subject (we know not on what account), without endeavouring to bring the abstract question to an issue, as he had done in the case of detained negroes. Possibly he had reason to suspect that a judicial decision might rather confirm than abolish the practice which he wished to set aside.

Another highly important public question, in which Mr. Sharp thought it his duty to interpose his offices, was that of the American war. His reputation stood high in the Colonies, indeed much higher than at home, on account of his efforts in be

half of the negro slaves. Of his work on "the Rights of the People to a Share in the Legislature," published in 1774, Dr. Franklin sent over 250 copies to America, where it was immediately reprinted in large editions and at several different places. Mr. Sharp was in consequence led into a sort of demi-official communication as a mediator with the British Government, and had a variety of conferences on the subject, his object being the reconciliation of England with the Colonies, previously to any confirmation of their independence by foreign powers. The point which he chiefly pressed was "such an alteration in our House of Commons as would ensure to the American Colonies as fair and equal rights as those enjoyed by the several counties of England." It does not appear from Mr. Sharp's papers, nor indeed did he seem to know himself, who were his instructors in the terms which he proposed to the British Cabinet. In fact, he had nothing to show for his authority, as far as can now be known, except certain mysterious and anonymous letters, which, however, were sufficient to prompt him to exert himself in a question on which he felt most acutely, and to his conscientious opinion respecting which he had disinterestedly sacrificed his prospects in life. Mr. Hoare, however, observes, that "he had no sentiments in common with the organs of democratical zeal; but was a strict and zealous loyalist." He strongly resisted every effort made to draw him over to range himself under the banners of a faction. Thus he says in one of his manuscript notes: "Received a letter from my friend ——, inviting me to dine with him to meet Governor ——, in these terms: 'our friend, Governor ——, would be happy to have the pleasure of meeting you, and of *deploring with you, in friendly confidence, the misery and ruin of this devoted country*,' &c." This sort of style was so displeasing to Mr. Sharp that he thought it right to send an immediate answer that "he was sorry he could not wait on him."

Our readers will have remarked that there was throughout Mr. Sharp's character something of what may be called a *meddling* disposition, the advantages and disadvantages of which to society must be measured by the objects to which it extends, and the mode in which it operates. There cannot, however, be a doubt that Mr. Sharp's *meddling* was, in many important instances, a great blessing to the world; and his *motives* cannot be impeached, even where he might be mistaken in the objects to which he directed his interposition. One of these objects, and a favourite one with him, was reform in the British parliament. Accustomed to reason from abstract principles, and too much neglecting the actual possibilities of things, he thought more might be effected by enlarging the system of suffrage, and

shortening the duration of parliaments, than cooler and more practical reasoners will be inclined to allow. He was accustomed to combine a variety of topics in his mind, and to carry the principle of analogy throughout. Thus he says, "My motive for interfering in *political reformation* was an earnest desire to promote *peace with America*, the two subjects being connected *with each other*, and *both* with that of *tolerating slavery in America*." It should, however, be remarked that Mr. Sharp had not witnessed, as his survivors have done, the evil consequences which have been but too closely linked with some of the popular notions on parliamentary suffrage and reform; nor, when he wrote his tracts on popular representation, had the world witnessed that direful revolution in France—we might almost say in Europe—which has made prudent men of every party fearful in delivering any opinion, the most moderate, that might be warped to the purposes of faction and disorder. Many positions of eminent departed statesmen would, in the modern state of the world, be highly inflammatory and injurious, which, when spoken, had a far less dangerous tendency. Mr. Sharp often contends for *universal suffrage* by name, but he means by it something very different from what the phrase *now* imports in the current acceptation. We were glad to perceive among his memoranda the following note appended to a paper supposed to have been written by his friend Sir William Jones, and entitled "A Declaration of those Rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain, without which they cannot be free," and proposing universal suffrage in its fullest sense. "The author of this paper," remarks Mr. Sharp, in the note just mentioned, "has not been aware that his proposal for a universal suffrage would be a *most dangerous innovation and encroachment on the just rights of the English householders and responsible burgesses*, and would deprive the state of their responsibility, in which consists the *summa et maxima securitas* of the English *frank-pledge*, the very foundation of the English constitution." The system of *frank-pledge* seems to have been in Mr. Sharp's estimation a security for every political blessing, and was brought forward by him on frequent occasions as a panacea for every legislative and national evil. His researches into the early records of Saxon law and usage, in his investigations on the liberty of the subject, had led him to speculate upon the simple principles of our ancient statistical classification, and he wished for such a recurrence to first elements, that a *tithing*, a *hundred*, &c. should literally be what their name imports; namely, a tithing ten adjoining houses, and a hundred ten adjoining tithings, each having an officer elected from their body called a tithingman or hundreder. His veneration also for the example of the ancient Jews under

the Divine superintendence strengthened his attachment for this decimal system; not duly considering that, though in the case of a *new* government it might be, and doubtless was, the wisest system to appoint (as we read Exodus xviii.) "rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of tens," and to regulate the elective franchise, if there had been one, by this division; yet that, where time had made numerous alterations in a country, where many tithings had swelled to thousands, and thousands dwindled to units; where property, rank, and patronage, had gradually forsaken their old, and flowed in new channels; innumerable disorders, amounting to little short of a revolution, would necessarily arise from a recurrence to the ancient system. In theory we are willing to allow that no system is more perfect than that of a division of a people into portions of ten families, each householder being *pledged* by the other nine, who became responsible to the *hundred* for his conduct, a system of watch and ward being maintained in constant rotation by all the males from sixteen or eighteen to sixty. Such was Mr. Sharp's idea, and such in fact is the *basis*, though modified by time, of our existing system, which Mr. Sharp maintained the lord lieutenants and sheriffs of counties might legally reduce to the actual decimal theory, and that it was their duty to do so. But what a sweeping demolition would such a plan make in every existing tenure and institution! And how could all the present divisions, numerical and topographical, especially that of *parishes*, which has become one of the most important, be adjusted to the new standard? If the elective franchise were to be arranged on this system, each householder voting for a representative in the tithing, and each tithing-man for the representative of a larger body, and these again voting among themselves for representatives in parliament, what would become of the present divisions of property; for how could the encroachments of power and numbers upon right be prevented? But we forbear to take up the question. It may be well enough for quietly-disposed speculative men to argue for this simple patriarchal system in their closets; but when their lucubrations once pass those peaceful precincts, and become subjects of discussion among the ignorant and the headstrong, they are deeply injurious to society.

If the great body of mankind were all like Mr. Sharp, we should not scruple to leave our doors open all the year round, and to invest each individual of a Manchester multitude with as many votes as the richest landholder in the realm; but while men remain what they have ever been, a recurrence to first principles, in questions of this sort, is always dangerous, and often fatal; and we may add, must necessarily be in the end *ineffectual*, because the

fluctuations of population and property, and the different talents, capacities, and moral qualities, of men, will render an arrangement which is the most perfect to-day, imperfect to-morrow; so that to keep the actual state of things conformable to the *beau ideal*, we must be constantly recurring to a new agrarian division (for it ultimately comes to this), and must render the acquisition of property the legal signal for participation and plunder. It is of course superfluous to say that the just and benevolent subject of these pages did not mean any thing of this kind; we are only speaking of what must be the almost necessary effect of his principles, *if carried fully into practice*. The sum of the whole is this: if the representation of a country is founded on a *mere numerical division*, each householder having a vote either immediately for a representative, or for a delegate, who is to be the proxy for the tithing or hundred in choosing a representative, one of the two following effects must ensue. If each voter is *uninfluenced* in his choice, the parliament so chosen will, it is true, represent the nation *numerically;* but as the number of the poor is in every country vastly greater than that of the rich, there will be no security for the rights of property; the master will fall a prey to his workmen, the landholder be outvoted by his tenants, and all the burdens of the community fall on those whose superior diligence, talents, and good conduct, have enabled them to realize property; while the indolent and vicious, by constantly outnumbering them, will unjustly share the spoils. Such was the case during the French revolution. But if it be said that even if such a case occur, it will soon adjust itself, for that in the long run the master will necessarily influence his labourers, and the landlord his tenants, so that though the suffrages are nominally numerical, they must be regulated in fact by the rank, wealth, and influence of the parties, then we reply, that the system is reduced to what it actually is at present in our country, and that nothing whatever is gained in point of general freedom by the enlargement of the nominal franchise. And here, ultimately, hinges the whole question, the details of which we leave our readers to follow up at their leisure.

We return from the political part of Mr. Sharp's character to his exertions in behalf of the African race; where we meet him with far greater pleasure than in the regions of controversial politics. His efforts did not cease with the decision of the case of the negro Somerset; for a motion having been made in Parliament, *and nearly carried*, to legalize slavery in England, according to the hint thrown out to the West India party by Lord Mansfield, it became necessary for Mr. Sharp to use renewed diligence, and to employ every practicable means for pre-

venting such an evil. He had also begun to enlarge his views on the general question of slavery, as well as of the slave trade, and to consider the feasibility of their extinction in all our colonies. For several years he was unwearied in embracing every possible opportunity of impressing his sentiments upon every person of influence to whom he could obtain access, especially the dignitaries of the established church. Thus he writes in the year 1779: "Memorandum—This spring I have at different times had the honour of conversing with twenty-two out of the twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops on the subject of the slave trade, during the time that the African affairs were under the consideration of the House of Commons." He adds a circumstance highly to the credit of the episcopal bench, at a time when the public at large were so little informed upon, or interested in, the question; namely, that out of all the Archbishops and Bishops whom he consulted, he met with *none* who did not concur with him in his sentiments on the subject of their interview. It would be impracticable in this slight sketch to trace Mr. Sharp's subsequent proceedings, which now began to be identified with those of many other eminent men who associated for the purpose of abolishing the slave trade, and mitigating the horrors, if not extirpating the existence, of slavery. The record of these transactions belongs to the history of the nation and of humanity, and is readily accessible to every reader. Few things could appear more hopeless at one time than the abolition (at least in any reasonable period) of the slave trade; but a virtuous association of disinterested and persevering philanthropists, ultimately triumphed over every difficulty, leaving a lesson of great political importance, that where a measure is really founded in truth, justice, and Christian duty, it requires only time and prudence to effect its accomplishment. We shall merely say farther, that throughout the whole of that arduous conflict, from the first meeting of a little knot of private gentlemen, till the final and triumphant event twenty years after, Mr. Sharp was ever at his post among the most prompt, unwearied, and munificent agents in that memorable consummation.

The establishment of the colony at Sierra Leone, being more immediately Mr. Sharp's own individual project, and a favourite object of his labours, will require a somewhat larger notice, which it well deserves, not only from the singular nature of that settlement, but from the misrepresentations which the interested artifices of the anti-abolition party have thrown around every thing connected with its history. Mr. Hoare, from having access to a vast body of documents, public and private, connected with the colony, and not generally known, has been enabled, in

the memoirs before us, to present a highly interesting, and, as far as we can judge, correct, account of the origin and progress of a settlement which has become of greater value than ever to Africa, as the depôt for re-captured negroes, who, being liberated by the operation of the laws, find here an asylum from the slave merchants, and are instructed in the simple arts of life, and the doctrines and practice of our holy religion.

About the year 1786, Mr. Sharp began to be occupied in humanely endeavouring to remedy an inconvenience which had arisen out of his own benevolent exertions in behalf of the African slaves; for many having been brought over to England, and the decision in the case of Somerset being generally known, great numbers were found in the streets of London, who having now no masters to support them, and being unaccustomed to any regular calling, flocked round Mr. Sharp for advice and assistance. Viewing them as orphans, who had some title to his care, he supplied their wants as far as his resources would allow; but their number having at length amounted to some hundreds, and Mr. Sharp having several private pensioners already living on his bounty, he found it necessary to determine on some regular project for the support of these unfortunate outcasts. He at length resolved on sending them to a suitable spot in Africa, where, once landed, under a proper leader and with implements of husbandry in their hands, they might soon provide for their own wants. The proposition seems to have been first suggested to Mr. Sharp by the negroes themselves, who had been informed that Sierra Leone would be a desirable spot for the purpose. Difficult as was the project of forming a free settlement, composed of men of ungoverned passions, unused to municipal regulations, and whose only lessons had been stripes, Mr. Sharp did not hesitate to embrace it as the best and only means which the circumstances of the case allowed. He accordingly drew up a simple code of laws and regulations for the colony, on his favourite plan of decimal division, with frank-pledge, and watch and ward; and somewhat more than four hundred negroes went out, with about sixty Europeans, chiefly women, to take possession of the settlement. Government agreed to give 12*l.* per head for each negro carried out. On their arrival at Sierra Leone a grant of land, of considerable extent, was purchased for their use, and it was hoped that in a short time the colony might subsist on its own resources. But a variety of adverse occurrences delayed the fulfilment of this expectation. The negroes were very generally unhealthy during the voyage, owing chiefly to the effects of intemperance. (Government having kindly, but unwisely, granted them an allowance of rum) and to disorders brought with them on board.

In consequence of some unavoidable delays in setting sail, they were landed in the rainy season, and a great portion of them in consequence died by exposure to the weather, before good order and discipline could be established among them. The survivors built a small town, and, after the first year, no particular mortality occurred. During this time they gradually improved in their circumstances, and were able to supply themselves with food. But just as the colony began to prosper, and it was hoped would soon be beyond the reach of ordinary casualties, a neighbouring chief, whose town had been burned by the marines and crew of an English ship of war, sent notice to the colonists that he intended to retaliate upon their settlement the injuries which he had received; which he accordingly did three days after. The settlers, having no resource, were obliged to abandon their homes and plantations, and were scattered in every direction. Many, indeed, had emigrated or deserted long before, some of whom had gone over to the slave factors, or on board slave vessels, contrary to the fundamental law of the settlement, which admitted of no slave transactions, and was founded expressly with a view to open the way to a more honourable species of commerce, and to lay a basis, if possible, for the ultimate civilization of the African continent. Mr. Sharp's grief at these untoward events may be easily conjectured; but they did not damp his ardour, or restrain his liberality. He appears to have sacrificed on this colony at different times, from his own purse, not much short of two thousand pounds, besides the large sums which he obtained from Government and private benefactors.

But far the greatest obstacle with which the colony had to contend, was the hostility of the slave traders, who misrepresented its object, and endeavoured to draw on it the suspicions of the neighbouring chiefs. It was with the utmost difficulty the settlers could procure even the transmission of a letter to England. At home also every effort was made by the anti-abolitionist party to prejudice both the public and Government against the settlement. The breaking out of the war with France was also a serious evil to the infant colony, as it impeded its commerce, and increased the expenses of maintaining it, besides subjecting its ships to capture, and the settlement itself, as shortly after happened, to invasion and destruction.

The difficulties, especially of a pecuniary kind, which environed the project, becoming at length too serious for Mr. Sharp to contend with single-handed, he determined to form, if possible, a chartered company, the objects of which should be to encourage civilization among the natives, to cultivate the soil by *free* labour, and abjuring all slave transactions, to cherish

the arts of peace, to promote commerce, to introduce the mild laws of England, and to open schools for the moral, religious, and political benefit of the neighbouring tribes. After a variety of obstacles, and much loss of time, arising chiefly from the misrepresentations made to Government, the charter was at length obtained, and a company formed. It was not, however, without much reluctance that Mr. Sharp consented to this arrangement; for his favourite object having been to found "the freest government in the world," all the officers of which should be elected, and all the laws and usages settled, by the inhabitants themselves, subject to no control but that of the Crown of Great Britain, he could not feel very willing to transfer the colony to a commercial company, who would of course appoint their own local agents, and take into their own hands the entire internal, as well as external, management of their factory.

An officer from the newly-formed company having arrived on the spot about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers, succeeded in collecting a number of the fugitives, and with them took possession of a site of ground, about two miles from the scene of the conflagration, which they began to clear, and to plant with yams and cassada. The party amounted only to sixty-four; but they were soon reinforced by more than a hundred Europeans, and eleven hundred blacks. The latter were loyalists from North America, who having acquired their liberty by joining the British standard during the American war, were found at its close unprovided for, and were humanely taken up by the new company, with the assistance of Government. The whole body of settlers now returned to the spot from which the first party had been expelled, and which was by this time quite over-grown with brushwood. Streets were immediately marked out, and temporary huts erected; but the rainy season proving extremely unhealthy, great numbers died, as in the former expedition, before adequate arrangements could be made for their accommodation. The place was called Free-town; it was built in a regular form; it enjoyed the advantages of salubrious air, good water, and an excellent harbour, and was soon adorned with a church, a hospital, wharfs, warehouses, and residences for the company's officers.

The rainy season of 1793 was less fatal than the former; the health of the colony had greatly improved; the schools were attended by the children of the settlers to the number of three hundred; and both trade and the cultivation of the soil were making such respectable advances, that towards the close of the year preparations were made for sending to England a cargo of African produce, collected by the Company's vessels along the coast. But the ship accidentally taking fire, the whole cargo

was consumed, to the amount of 15,000*l.* Nor was this the severest loss which the Company had to endure; for in the year 1794 the settlement was pillaged by the revolutionary French, and almost entirely consumed, under circumstances not easily to be paralleled among civilized nations. The attacking squadron being far superior in force to any thing which the settlers had to bring against it, it was at once agreed, that to resist would only occasion an idle waste of lives, and might render the terms of capitulation less favourable. The colours were therefore immediately struck; but, notwithstanding the invaders took peaceable possession, they committed the greatest outrages, the Commodore declaring, that if the seamen and soldiers were disposed to plunder, he could not prevent them; and adding, that it was their intention to burn every house in the place belonging to Englishmen. The Governor used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, particularly pleading the humane and charitable nature of the establishment; to which he received no other reply than, "*Citoyen, cela peut bien être, mais encore vous êtes Anglois!*" The result was, that every thing moveable, which could be of use to the invaders, was seized, and the remainder burned or otherwise destroyed. The books of the Company were scattered about and defaced; and if they bore any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn and trampled upon. The farms of the settlers, which were many of them at some distance from Freetown, did not escape. The church, although the Commodore had given his word it should be preserved, was pillaged and then burned; as were also the shops, houses, public buildings, and several small vessels in the harbour. A vessel laden with a cargo of 10,000*l.* arriving from England at the time of these occurrences was also captured; nor would the invading Commodore even allow her letters or dispatches to be landed. To aggravate the affliction, the Commodore left the crew of the captured vessel to be maintained by the already exhausted colony, having refused to comply with the earnest solicitations made for provisions and other necessaries, except to a very partial and limited extent. A few weeks after, two of the Company's trading vessels were captured by the same squadron on their passage down the coast; the crews of which were left on shore; and many of them finding their way to Sierra Leone, added to the general calamity. The extent of these losses was computed at 40,000*l.* exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which had cost 15,000*l.* more.

The Company met these disasters with fortitude; and so great were their exertions in supplying the wants of the settlers, that the next four years proved the most prosperous in the annals of the colony, previous to its surrender to the Crown.

Mr. Sharp seems now to have found that some of his theoretical speculations were but ill adapted for the actual condition of human nature. He had hitherto opposed the erection of forts in the colony; but their necessity being at length too forcibly demonstrated, he was obliged to yield his opinion to the exigencies of the case. A variety of internal discontents in the settlement, caused by the ignorance and discordant views of the different classes of inhabitants, and the insubordination of some of the tithingmen and hundreders, who wished to be above all control, having pointed out the necessity of a more efficient force in the local government, the Company found it necessary to apply for an enlarged charter, giving them power to appoint a Governor and Council, with authority to exercise criminal jurisdiction. In the mean time a rebellion had arisen in the colony, which, however, was suppressed by the opportune arrival of a vessel from England, having five hundred and fifty Maroons on board, with a detachment of soldiers. Parliament on several occasions furnished considerable sums for the assistance of the struggling colony, which was considered, in a variety of ways, a subject of national importance. These grants supported the efforts of the Company for some time, but were too precarious in their nature to be relied upon. Under all the circumstances, therefore, of the case, it was considered expedient by the Company to surrender their rights to the Crown, which was done by Act of Parliament in 1807.

It would be, however, too much to say that the project wholly failed. In a pecuniary point of view, it is true, Mr. Sharp and his coadjutors were considerable losers; but the benefit of their exertions to Africa was a counterpoise of no inconsiderable weight. They had rescued, and provided for, the discarded slaves who infested our streets, as well as those from North America, whom this country had undertaken to assist; they had opened a path to civilization and social improvement in Africa; they had instructed considerable numbers of the natives; they had diffused the blessings of religion and freedom wherever they had access; and above all, they had maintained a station which enabled them to ascertain the real nature of the slave-trade, and thus to expose to the world, and particularly to the British legislature, the numerous and disgraceful artifices by which the slave interest had so long contrived to conceal and defend their atrocious proceedings. The Company were thus, in point of fact, the real abolitionists of that unholy traffic, which needed only to be known to be execrated. Their settlement has since been of still greater utility, as a focus for the efforts made to suppress the slave-trade, the actual extinction of which is far from having followed its legal abolition. The trade and

prospects of the colony are at present highly favourable, notwithstanding the mendacious statements which are invented and inserted in our public journals by the anti-abolition faction. There are now more than 2000 children in the Free town and country schools. The population consists of about 10,000 persons, of whom two thirds are liberated negroes. These enjoy the advantages of Christian instruction; and are stated, on the most respectable authority, to have made not only a rapid, but an almost incredible improvement in moral and social order. The number of marriages has very greatly increased; and a variety of virtuous and disinterested projects are supported by the inhabitants. Vast numbers of the negroes, after due instruction and examination, have been baptized, of whom a large part evidence by their conduct that their change of faith is far more than a nominal profession. A considerable number of adult negroes attend the schools; and one clergyman alone reckons, we believe, some hundreds among his regular and hopeful communicants. "Friendly building societies," benefit societies, with Bible and missionary institutions, have also taken deep root in the colony. Industry is carefully inculcated; and the greatest attention is paid, not only to husbandry, but to the making of roads, the erection of public buildings, &c. And all this among men who have but recently been rescued from the holds of slave-vessels—men unknown to each other, speaking different languages, and in every stage of ignorance and barbarism. Such are the transmuting effects of affectionate and judicious instruction, grounded on the basis of pure Christianity.

Our limits warn us to condense the remaining occurrences of Mr. Sharp's life into a few passing notices. His efforts to promote episcopacy in North America have already been alluded to. At the conclusion of the American war, this apostolic institution of the Christian church seemed about to cease in the revolted colonies; but Mr. Sharp having urged the importance of keeping up the regular succession, and employing properly ordained clergymen, overtures were made to the English bench, and, after a lengthened negociation, and the removal of a variety of obstacles, two bishops elect, from America, were introduced by Mr. Sharp to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and received consecration.

Mr. Sharp was a cordial friend and active member of many charitable institutions; he joined the elder "Bible Society," since called, "The Naval and Military Bible Society," at or soon after its formation in 1780. His notes, as far back as 1785, show that he regularly attended the meetings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. Of the Bible Society, he may be con-

sidered the father, having presided at the meeting for its formation; a circumstance the more unusual, as he uniformly declined the honour of taking the chair, even in a committee. Mr. Clarkson says that he had attended above *seven hundred* committee and sub-committee meetings, with Mr. Sharp, at none of which could he be prevailed on to preside. The society for opposing the slave-trade elected him their perpetual chairman; but though he frequented the meetings regularly for twenty years, and signed the papers as official chairman, he never, in a single instance, could be induced to occupy the post of honour. Perhaps there was somewhat of *ichim* mixed with the delicacy and modesty of Mr. Sharp in matters of this kind. Of the "African Institution," he was one of the first directors; and of the "Protestant Union," the founder and firm friend, from an opinion that Catholic emancipation, so called, was not necessary to *religious* freedom, and that it would prove dangerous to the welfare of our church and state.

Of the private character of Mr. Sharp, the facts which we have detailed will have impressed a general outline. Notwithstanding his studious habits, and the weighty business which rested upon him, he constantly possessed an even cheerfulness of temper. His conduct and character were simple and unaffected. Like many other great men, he was remarkably attached to the company of children, among whom his ready pencil, his cheerful tabor and pipe, his unconstrained playfulness, and his interesting conversation, rendered him an unusual favourite. In the respective families of his relations he regularly attended, and generally read, the morning and evening prayers from the liturgy. He was a constant attendant at church, and never omitted any opportunity of receiving the sacrament; but his devotion was perfectly simple and unostentatious. In his youth, he was the intimate friend of Sir William Jones; and when that eminent man was departing for India, Mr. Sharp, in their farewell interview, remarked to him, "We have conversed together on many subjects; but we have not yet spoken on the most material one, our reliance on the will of our Creator in all things. You are leaving us for India. I have drawn up a collection of prayers; suffer me to present it to you, and to entreat that when you are far removed from me, you will adopt the use of it." Mr. Jones replied that the request was "highly gratifying to him," adding, that "he was glad to say that he was himself *constant in prayer*."

Mr. Sharp's death was preceded by a considerable declension of his faculties. He was, in fact, to use a current term, *superannuated*; but his piety, benevolence, and placidity, never forsook him. He expired July 6, 1813, aged seventy-eight. He

was buried in his family vault at Fulham; but a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, by the African Institution; and numerous other societies and individuals poured forth their eulogies and regrets for his loss.

A word or two respecting his writings, and we have done. Of his *political* publications, we have incidentally spoken, as well as of his works on slavery, and the slave-trade. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the two works on which Mr. Sharp's chief reputation as a scholar must rest; namely, his "Remarks on the Use of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament," and his "Grammatical Rules of the Hebrew Language." The volume before us contains a highly valuable chapter by the Bishop of St. David's, on Mr. Sharp's Biblical criticisms, in reference to these two works. His Lordship remarks:

"'Mr. Granville Sharp was learned in languages from principle, not from curiosity, or the mere pleasure of literary research. His objects in the study of Hebrew and Greek were, exclusively, the love of truth, the glory of God, and the good of his fellow creatures. No man's mind was ever less actuated by vanity and ambition. He was singularly fortunate in the application of his learning to the illustration of the original languages of Scripture. His doctrines of the Greek article, and of the Hebrew conversive *Vau*, and of other particularities of the Hebrew language, though not unknown to scholars before his time, had all the merit of discovery, and more than that merit, in the valuable use which he made of them. His most decided belief of the Supreme Divinity of Christ, and his ardent zeal to maintain the doctrine against Jewish and Socinian objections, made him a critic and philologer, and led him to those grammatical principles and analogies so decisive in their result that Jews and Socinians cannot misconstrue or dispute them, without denying the most direct and acknowledged usages of grammar.

"'His doctrine of the Greek article was violently opposed by Socinian writers, but without the least injury to his principle, and with a strong presumption in its favour; for such a violence of opposition would never have been excited by any publication which had not struck at the vitals of Socinian unbelief. The ample confirmation which it has received from the concurrent interpretation of all the ancient Greek fathers of the Church, in Dr. Wordsworth's elaborate and candid work, has given it a stability which may bid defiance to all the sophistry employed against it.

"'It is no longer a question, whether the rule proposed is capable of the application which has been given it, or whether the chief passages, to which it has been applied by Mr. Sharp (Eph. v. 5, Tit. ii. 13, 2 Pet. i. 1,) will admit the sense which the rule requires; for the only sense in which the Greek fathers understand that important passage for instance, Tit. ii. 13, is that which is ascribed to it by Mr. Sharp. It appears, also, from Dr. Wordsworth's investigation of the subject, that the various forms of expression contained in the passages relative to the

Divinity of Christ, which are the subject of the rule, were constantly used by Greek writers, from the first century to the latest period of the Greek language, in the sense required by the rule; and that *that* was the uniform doctrine of all the ancient churches.'" (P. 500, 501.)

The learned prelate proceeds to vindicate Mr. Sharp's rule against some minor objections which have been made to it. The *chief* objections, our readers are aware, were long ago answered in a variety of quarters; particularly by Dr. Wordsworth, Dr. Middleton (now Bishop of Calcutta), and by the Bishop of St. David's, in his "Evidence of the Divinity of Christ, from the literal Interpretation of Scripture." His Lordship, in the chapter before us, has given an elegant summary of Mr. Sharp's rule, divested of that awkward, and sometimes almost unintelligible diction, in which the author was accustomed to convey his ideas. Mr. Sharp's rule ought, however, to have been given by Mr. Hoare, at length, in his own words, in the course of the volume; indeed, it ought almost to have been engraven on his tomb, as a memorial of the aid rendered by him to the cause of sacred literature. The Bishop of St. David's gives it in substance, as follows: "When two personal nouns, of the same case, are connected by the copulative και, if the former has the definitive article, and the latter has not, they both belong to the same person." By the phrase, "personal nouns," his Lordship intends to convey what Mr. Sharp explains, in a circumlocutory parenthesis, in the original rule, as follows: "Nouns, either substantive or adjective, or participles, of personal description respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connexion, and attributes, properties, or qualities, good or ill." Mr. Sharp adds, in the original two subordinate specifications, not noticed in his Lordship's abridgment: this is, "Except the nouns be proper names, or in the plural number, in which cases there are many exceptions." We merely mention this in passing, lest any reader, who happens to meet with the work before us, and is unacquainted with Mr. Sharp's original rule, should be led into an error, or fancy he has discovered an exception not provided for. The learned prelate merely intended to *remind* the reader of Mr. Sharp's rule, the *substance* of which he has neatly condensed.

This rule our readers are aware was important, not merely in a philological point of view, but as applying to a variety of passages in the New Testament, which speak of the Divine nature of our Saviour. The Bishop of St. David's, in the chapter before us, gives the five following passages as examples: 2 Pet. i. 11, 2 Thess. i. 12, 2 Pet. i. 1, Tit. ii. 13, Jude iv.; in all which the application of the rule proves that the Κυριος and the Θεος spoken of, is the same person as the Σωτηρος, the Χριστος, &c. The passages referred to by his Lordship, are among the prin-

cipal texts of importance; but if the reader wish to refer to a few other examples, which show positively or negatively the force of the rule, we could recommend him to consult 2 Cor. xi. 31, 2 Pet. ii. 20, Eph. v. 5, 1 Tim. v. 21, 2 Tim. iv. 1, John xiii. 13, Matt. xviii. 17, Eph. v. 20.; from among many which might easily be collected. For the sake of the English reader, we subjoin a passage or two translated according to Mr. Sharp's rule. Thus, 2 Thess. i. 12, would be rendered "according to the grace of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord," instead of the current version, "our God and the Lord Jesus Christ." Again, 1 Tim. v. 21: "I charge thee before Jesus Christ, the God and Lord;" instead of "before God and the Lord Jesus Christ." So also Titus ii. 13: "Jesus Christ, the great God and our Saviour;" 2 Pet. i. 1: "Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour;" Jude iv.: "Our only master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ."

Mr. Sharp's rule, as remarked in the above extract from the Bishop of St. David's, was abundantly confirmed by Dr. Wordsworth. It was certainly a just and reasonable supposition, that if Mr. Sharp's rule was correct, the ancient interpretations of any particular passage coming under it by the Greek fathers, would tend to confirm it. Dr. Wordsworth, therefore, undertook to ascertain in what sense the Greek fathers understood the principal texts in dispute. The success of the experiment was even greater than could have been expected, and what added no trifling confirmation to Mr. Sharp's hypothesis, was, that Dr. Wordsworth discovered at what time, and among what writers, the interpretation of these passages began first to be ambiguous. Every scholar has felt, in translating from Greek into Latin, the frequent uncertainty of the latter, for want of a definite article corresponding to that in the former; and this often where there is no ambiguity whatever in the original. Now few of the Latin fathers were versed in the minute peculiarities of the Greek language; they quoted habitually from their own Latin translations, and gave the sense which appeared most natural to the Latin reader. The translation might not be incorrect; but for want of the article it would often admit of a meaning, either definite, or indefinite; and this ambiguity has been retained in some measure in modern versions. Dr. Wordsworth's quotations were numerous, and highly satisfactory. He showed that from the time of the Apostles, till Greek ceased to be a living language, words arranged according to Mr. Sharp's rule never bore any other meaning than that which that rule goes to assign to them. By the establishment of this rule, Socinianism and its cognate heresies have lost one of their principal refuges; and several convincing passages have been justly

ranged on the side of the Trinitarian faith, which had been often before considered as too equivocal in their grammatical structure to allow of their being adduced as decisive arguments.

The Bishop of St. David's remarks, in the passage already quoted, that Mr. Sharp's rule was "not unknown to scholars before his time." The earliest trace of it which we remember to have read of, or met with, is in Beza's commentary on one of the passages above referred to: Titus ii. 13. "Quod autem ad alterum attinet, quum scriptum sit, επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και Σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου, non autem, του μεγαλου Θεου και ΤΟΥ Σωτηρος, &c. dico non magis probabiliter ista posse ad duas distinctas personas referri, quam illam locutionem, Ο Θεος και Πατηρ Ιησου Χριστου. Nam id certe postulat Græci sermonis usus, cum unus tantum sit articulus, duobus istis nempe, 'Θεου και Σωτηρος,' et Θεος και Πατηρ communis." *See Beza's Commentary in loco.* This rule was not perfectly accurate, and it does not embrace the necessary exceptions. It was therefore little attended to till Mr. Sharp published his canon, and proved not only that the construction for which he contended *might* be correct, but also that it *must* be so, and could not be otherwise. The world is also greatly indebted to the Bishop of St. David's, for having originally advocated this theory, and introduced it to the notice of biblical critics.

We thought it advisable to make these few cursory remarks for the sake of those readers who might stand in need of them in order to connect the narrative, or to estimate more fully the utility of Mr. Sharp's biblical labours. We could wish in a second edition of the memoir before us, to see a summary account of the whole controversy, which is referred to as a thing well known in the chapter by the Bishop of St. David's, who kindly undertook to assist Mr. Hoare in this part of his task; but ought to have been related more at length by the biographer, as an important feature of Mr. Sharp's life. It is remarkable that, neither in the lengthened inscription on Mr. Sharp's monument in Westminster Abbey, nor on his tomb at Fulham, is any mention made of him as a scholar, an author, or a biblical critic.

The space which we have imperceptibly covered with this topic precludes more than a passing reference to the second point, namely, Mr. Sharp's rules and discoveries in Hebrew literature, and particularly his ingenious solution of that philological phenomenon, the *vau* conversive. Bishop Horsley thought so highly of the rules laid down by Mr. Sharp on this subject, that he was desirous of translating them into Latin, for the use of the public schools; and had nearly finished his version, when death put an end to his labours. He, however, did what the

present Bishop of St. David's justly pronounces still more valuable; he suggested a rule in place of one of Mr. Sharp's, which Mr. Sharp adopted with a trifling variation, and ordered, in case of his death, to be inserted in any future edition of his work. The Bishop's rule was, that "Perfect tenses with the prefixed vau are always converted to future ones, *except* at the beginning of a sentence." The exception appeared to Mr. Sharp to be so well established by numerous examples, that he laid it down as proved that "Perfect tenses with prefixed vaus are *not* converted at the beginning of a sentence." Mr. Sharp possibly embraced this rule with the more eagerness, because, to use his own words, it "*enfranchises* the students of Hebrew in future from the *arbitrary shackles* of that most perplexing and unreasonable system of vowel points, by which our Hebrew Bibles are most shamefully dotted, *as if they were blurred and defiled by flies!*" Mr. Sharp, it seems, was a friend to liberty even in literature; and was scarcely less zealous for mankind to be "enfranchised" from Masoretic "shackles," than from heavier bondage. Many eminent biblical scholars have, however, borne them, and probably will continue to do so, with a very good grace. In another edition, Mr. Hoare will, perhaps, find room to transcribe Mr. Sharp's rules, which occupy only a few lines, and ought to be engrafted into his Memoir. The Hebrew reader is aware of their substance, namely, that ו prefixed to future tenses, converts them into perfect; and prefixed to perfect, converts them into future, except in four specified cases.

We have only to say further, with reference to the authorship of the Memoir before us, that Mr. Hoare has collected a vast body of facts and documents, which cannot fail of proving interesting and valuable to the public. The profits of the work, and we trust they may be large, are to be devoted to the funds of the African Institution. In another edition, Mr. Hoare may arrange his matter, in many places, with more perspicuity, and shorten occasionally the reflexions upon the events which he records. Most people, we fear, pass over what they are apt to call *the prosing part* of a large work of interesting narrative. Men like to sermonize for themselves; and the chief art of an author should be to lay his trap unseen for this purpose. We trust the work may meet with as many purchasers as the value of its matter justly deserves, and that the numerous excellencies of Mr. Sharp's character may induce them to "go and do likewise."

Art. II.—WORDSWORTH'S RIVER DUDDON, AND OTHER POEMS.

The River Duddon, a Series of Sonnets: Vaudracour and Julia, and other Poems: to which is annexed a topographical Description of the Country of the Lakes in the North of England. By William Wordsworth. 8vo. pp. 321. Longman and Co. London, 1820.

OF Sir John Denham, Johnson says, in commenting on his Cooper's Hill, "he seems to have been, at least among us, the author of a species of composition that may be denominated *local poetry*, of which the fundamental subject is some particular landscape, to be poetically described, with the addition of such embellishments as may be supplied by historical retrospection or incidental meditation." By *author*, we presume Dr. Johnson to have intended the introducer or inventor, and in this character we cannot but consider the mind of his country as under great obligations to his genius. The mere natural imagery of landscape, the display of colour and magnificence, "the pomp of groves and garniture of fields," have been consecrated in poetry from its earliest essays, and its earliest essays are almost coeval with nature itself; but those local interests and affections by which history, or memory, or moral similitudes, endear and animate particular scenes, imparting to them a sort of mute intelligence and tacit discourse, have given a decided superiority to the descriptive poetry of very recent days. Many unnoticed, many accidental, and many untraceable circumstances, have concurred to generate this intermixture of living pathos with the description of inanimate existences; but it seems obvious to ascribe it in part to the multiplied associations, attenuated feelings, and cherished illusions, into which life has spread itself with a sort of luxuriance in the progress of refinement, and partly to the higher principles and more mental enjoyment with which of late years the theory of landscape and ornamental scenery has been cultivated and ennobled. In the place of the fairies and divinities, and the cold mythology of the Naiads and the Dryads, our fountains and our groves are rendered interesting or sacred by affinities, recollections, and resemblances, which make them a part of the moral of life, and connect them with the finest properties and feelings of the mind.

If we are to date the introduction of what Dr. Johnson has called 'local poetry' from the time of Sir John Denham, we can consent to allow little more to that poet, and his age, than

the general merit of a first conception. When we compare his Cooper's Hill, or indeed any of the specifically descriptive poetry, either of the period to which Johnson has assigned its introduction, or of the period which followed, we mean that of Pope and Thomson, with the poetry of our own time in the same department, it seems, to our judgments, that the present æra may fairly claim the credit of having originated that sentimental manner of describing particular landscapes which carries the picturesque into the heart, and annexes an interior feeling to what was formerly in its most luxuriant dress the source only of a superficial ecstacy and transient delight. Among the writers who have purchased this distinction for the times in which we live, the author of the little book of poems now before us deserves, in our opinion, a very honourable place. He has entitled himself to this place by an intensity of natural expression, and a thoughtful original delineation of local scenery, which have exalted him to a dignified independence upon traditional imagery, hereditary similes, and the stores of superficial common-place. From these obvious resources he has turned himself to those treasures of contemplative wealth, which, by adding their value to rural objects, and all the possible combinations of scenery, general, local, and domestic, have philosophized, and spiritualized, and raised into commerce with the soul, those beauties and sublimities of nature which, in the dress of our old poetry, produced admiration without emotion; stimulating the fancy indeed, but leaving the ideas that slumber in the heart unawakened or unengaged. To Mr. Wordsworth we do really think the praise of this new style of local poetry eminently belongs. We hardly know where to look for a greater abundance of those vivid displays which exhibit the points of contact between our own interior constitution and the objects of external nature which surround us, developing, in the habitudes and associations of the mind, the springs of a superadded delight in each prospect that presents itself.

As a cultivator of this local poetry, Mr. Wordsworth has with good judgment adopted a distinguishing simplicity of style. It is to the simple elemental passions, as they singly display themselves, that his descriptions and allusions are necessarily restricted: the scenes of unsophisticated nature with which his muse is occupied know nothing of the complications of sentiment or emotion to which the tumults and agitations of crowded life furnish constant occasion. The theme is simple, and calls for simplicity of dress and decoration. Where this simplicity is lost sight of, descriptive poetry may be brilliant and beautiful, but it can no longer communicate with the heart; its alliance with moral feeling is cut off: it has no longer any com-

mon medium of expression with the impulses of genuine affection.

But while, in order to maintain this consonance and responsiveness of character between the scenes of external nature, and the operations of mind, Mr. Wordsworth, and others who have adopted his taste, have properly estimated the importance of a simple, and apparently artless manner, the excess and extravagance to which they have frequently carried the principle have been the means of bringing it under reproach and contempt, or of recommending a practice detrimental and degrading to our national muse. Poetry is, after all, an ornamental art, and pledged by its very undertaking to become the medium of embellishment: it must achieve something beyond prose, or it might as well be prose. Simplicity may, without the sacrifice of its proper character, assume both grace and elevation; and we speak it in discommendation of Mr. Wordsworth, and of a certain school to which he may be regarded as belonging, that in many instances they seem to have forgotten the distinction between a natural and unlaboured expression of feeling, and a language at the farthest remove from poetical elevation. To mistake a mean and prostrate diction for the dialect of the poet, is among the follies generated by the affectation of treating things in a new way. It is an inverted ambition; and as there is no dignity in its endeavour, there is the greater disgrace in its fall; by a disappointment well deserved, its very eagerness for distinction precipitates it into common-place. We shall by and by illustrate these observations by a passage or two from some of the pieces now under review. We will first address ourselves to the more pleasurable task of doing justice to the many excellencies which are scattered through these poems, and which may be said almost uniformly to characterize the principal piece, called "The River Duddon," consisting of a series of sonnets accompanying the flow of that pleasing river with a succession of incidental reflections beautifully appropriate. For the purpose of interweaving the moral with the picturesque, a more ingenious thought could not have entered the mind of a poet than that of following the variegated course of a river, sometimes calm or slightly agitated, sometimes urged into torrents by its straitened banks, rocky barriers, and precipitous falls; passing at one time through verdant meads, at another through dark defiles, till, widening into a broad and glittering expanse, it bares its bosom to the heavens, and finally sinks into its oblivious repose in the ultimate receptacle of waters,—majestic emblem of eternity! It seems to us, that by following up these diversities of appearance with a series of sonnets, in which he has borrowed, from the changeful aspects of the river

in its course, a succession of tender and pathetic allusions to human life, and its affecting vicissitudes, Mr. Wordsworth has with great art and effect contrived to harmonize into one general impression of accumulated interest an assemblage of little pieces distinct in their subjects, and which, without some point of union, might be apt to fatigue attention by a recurrence of the same structure without continuity of interest, or progression of sentiment.

Such, we think, is the character, and such are the advantages of the subject which this poet has chosen for a series of connected sonnets; and though it seems that "this series of sonnets was the growth of many years," and the product of "occasional visits to the stream, as recollections of the scenes upon its banks awakened a wish to describe them;" yet the effect produced by the order in which they are arranged, is that of a continuous effort of expanding thought produced by a single object pleasingly diversified by accident and combination.

It was with great delight that we read many years ago the loco-descriptive poem of Lewesdon Hill, by the present public orator of Oxford; nor can we recollect any production of a similar kind which has since afforded us equal gratification, unless it be the "River Duddon" of the writer on whom we are now commenting. They proceed in the same tenor of illustrative description, drawing from nature without any strain after similitudes, or analogies, an allusive morality that gives life to the landscape, and makes it converse with the heart. Of the meditative character of Mr. Wordsworth's muse, these sonnets on the River Duddon are a lively specimen, and we cannot but think that the more this style of poetry engages him, the more his reputation will be advanced. We may observe, too, that the demand which descriptive poetry makes upon the imagination for dress and colouring of language, has seemed to divert him from that unaccountable addiction to a frigid and creeping idiom, halting between prose and verse, in which the class of writers to which he belongs is so prone to indulge. Where his language maintains the level of his thoughts, the whole composition stands before us as a structure of suitable elevation and chaste magnificence.

All our readers may not know that the river Duddon rises upon Wrynose Tell, on the confines of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and after dividing Lancashire from Cumberland for about twenty-five miles, discharges itself into the Irish Sea. But for the sake of enabling them to read the extracts, which we shall present to them, with the intelligence which is necessary to their due impression, we will further inform them, from "Mr. Green's Guide to the Lakes," that in the scenery

through which the Duddon winds its course to the sea, "the face of nature is displayed in a wonderful variety of hill and dale; wooded grounds and buildings, amongst the latter, Broughton Tower, seated on the crown of a hill, rising elegantly from the valley, is an object of extraordinary interest. Fertility on each side is gradually diminished, and lost in the superior heights of Blackcomb, in Cumberland, and the high lands between Kirkby and Ulverstone. The road from Broughton to Seathwaite is on the banks of the Duddon, and on its Lancashire side it is of various elevations. The river is an amusing companion, one while brawling and tumbling over rocky precipices, until the agitated water becomes calm again by arriving at a smoother and less precipitous bed; but its course is soon again ruffled, and the current thrown into every variety of form which the rocky channel of a river can give to water." For a specimen of Mr. Wordsworth, take the fourteenth stanza

> "O Mountain Stream! the Shepherd and his Cot
> Are privileged Inmates of deep solitude;
> Nor would the nicest Anchorite exclude
> A field or two of brighter green, or plot
> Of tillage-ground, that seemeth like a spot
> Of stationary sunshine:—thou hast view'd
> These only, Duddon! with their paths renew'd
> By fits and starts, yet this contents thee not.
> Thee hath some awful Spirit impelled to leave,
> Utterly to desert, the haunts of men,
> Though simple thy companions were and few:
> And through this wilderness a passage cleave
> Attended but by thy own voice, save when
> The Clouds and Fowls of the air thy way pursue!"—(P. 15.)

The tributary stream making its way to the Duddon with precipitate haste, sprinkling refreshment and invigorating the verdure of the thirsty fields through which it hurries, is celebrated with a charming simplicity in the nineteenth sonnet.

> "My frame hath often trembled with delight
> When hope presented some far-distant good,
> That seemed from heaven descending, like the flood
> Of yon pure waters, from their aery height,
> Hurrying with lordly Duddon to unite;
> Who, mid a world of images imprest
> On the calm depth of his transparent breast,
> Appears to cherish most that Torrent white,
> The fairest, softest, liveliest of them all!
> And seldom hath ear listen'd to a tune
> More lulling than the busy hum of Noon,
> Swoln by that voice—whose murmur musical
> Announces to the thirsty fields a boon
> Dewy and fresh, till showers again shall fall."—(P. 21.)

From among the seven or eight concluding sonnets, it is difficult to make a choice, each of them is so well worthy of being presented to our readers. Every character of the river is impressive, and not the least so in the softest and serenest part of its course. But the poet has, without dissipating the idea which belongs to the integrity of the single sonnet, beautifully pourtrayed the variations of the river's temper, within the compass of fourteen exquisite lines.

> " The old inventive Poets, had they seen,
> Or rather felt, the entrancement that detains
> Thy waters, Duddon! mid these flow'ry plains,
> The still repose, the liquid lapse serene,
> Transferr'd to bowers imperishably green,
> Had beautified Elysium! But these chains
> Will soon be broken;—a rough course remains,
> Rough as the past; where Thou, of placid mien,
> Innocuous as a firstling of a flock,
> And countenanced like a soft cerulean sky,
> Shalt change thy temper; and, with many a shock
> Given and received in mutual jeopardy,
> Dance like a Bacchanal from rock to rock,
> Tossing her frantic thyrsus wide and high!"—(P. 22.)

The sheepwashing is very poetically described. It has all that picturesque exactness into which the writer of taste and feeling knows so well how to descend without degrading his muse. There is a transmutation in the poet's touch by which a value is given to the little and the low, while the strictest fidelity in the representation is preserved. Such, we think, is the character of the following sonnet.

> " Sad thoughts, avaunt!—the fervour of the year,
> Pour'd on the fleecc-encumbered flock, invites
> To laving currents, for prelusive rites
> Duly performed before the Dales-men shear
> Their panting charge. The distant Mountains hear,
> Hear and repeat, the turmoil that unites
> Clamour of boys with innocent despites
> Of barking dogs, and bleatings from strange fear.
> Meanwhile, if Duddon's spotless breast receive
> Unwelcome mixtures as the uncouth noise
> Thickens, the pastoral River will forgive
> Such wrong; nor need *we* blame the licensed joys
> Though false to Nature's quiet equipoise:
> Frank are the sports, the stains are fugitive."—(P. 25.)

Take again the view here presented of the church of Ulpha, and the churchyard, with all the pensive features and moral quietude of the scene, as an example of what we hesitate not to say of Mr. Wordsworth, that, apart from his unfortunate propensity to mistake meanness for simplicity, and to discredit

his own funds and resources, by affecting poverty in the midst of abundance, he possesses a compass of poetical expression, a sentimental chastity of imagination, and an elevation of moral feeling, which entitle him to rank with that small number to whom his country is indebted for the gifts of genius without the corruption of principle.

> " The Kirk of Ulpha to the Pilgrim's eye
> Is welcome as a Star, that doth present
> Its shining forehead through the peaceful rent
> Of a black cloud diffus'd o'er half the sky;
> Or as a fruitful palm-tree towering high
> O'er the parched waste beside an Arab's tent;
> Or the Indian tree whose branches, downward bent,
> Take root again, a boundless canopy.
> How sweet were leisure! could it yield no more
> Than mid that wave-washed Church-yard to recline,
> From pastoral graves extracting thoughts divine;
> Or there to pace, and mark the summits hoar
> Of distant moon-lit mountains faintly shine,
> Sooth'd by the unseen River's gentle roar."—(P. 32.)

The two following sonnets conduct the river to its home, with a peaceful pomp of expression and placid composure of accompanying allusion, terminating very naturally and gracefully together the process of thought and the course of the stream.

> " Not hurled precipitous from steep to steep;
> Lingering no more mid flower-enamelled lands
> And blooming thickets; nor by rocky bands
> Held;—but in radiant progress tow'rd the Deep
> Where mightiest rivers into powerless sleep
> Sink, and forget their nature;—*now* expands
> Majestic Duddon, over smooth flat sands,
> Gliding in silence with unfettered sweep!
> Beneath an ampler sky a region wide
> Is opened round him;—hamlets, towers, and towns,
> And blue-topp'd hills, behold him from afar;
> In stately mien to sovereign Thames allied,
> Spreading his bosom under Kentish downs,
> With Commerce freighted or triumphant War.—(P. 33.)

And then follows the verses which, though not the last of the series, would, we think, have closed it with more impressiveness of effect than those by which it is in the next sonnet concluded

> " But here no cannon thunders to the gale;
> Upon the wave no haughty pendants cast
> A crimson splendour; lowly is the mast
> That rises here, and humbly spread the sail;

While less disturbed than in the narrow Vale
Through which with strange vicissitudes he pass'd,
The Wanderer seeks that receptacle vast
Where all his unambitious functions fail.
And may thy Poet, cloud-born Stream! be free,
The sweets of earth contentedly resigned,
And each tumultuous working left behind
At seemly distance, to advance like Thee,
Prepared, in peace of heart, in calm of mind
And soul, to mingle with Eternity!"—(P. 34.)

Of "Vaudracour and Julia," the poem which follows, we cannot speak in the same terms of praise as of the sonnets, of which we have just taken our leave. It is one of those examples of failure from ambitious sinking to which Mr. Wordsworth is occasionally abandoned. The tale has nothing in it very new; but the breaking of lovers' hearts, and the bursting of nature's ties by the artificial arrangements and usages of society, can never cease to command our sympathies. Vaudracour, a youth of high birth, living with his parents in a small town among the mountains of Auvergne, woos a maid of the same place, of great charms, but unhappily sprung from a plebeian stock. Their union is implacably opposed by the stern parents of the young man; and the interdict only serves, as might be expected in a case of virtuous love, to confirm the affections of the youthful pair. We shall not follow the story to its catastrophe, which we do not think would be estimated at the value of the room it would demand; enough has been told to introduce the extract, which we think will afford a fair specimen of the style; of which the merit, it would seem, in the opinion of Mr. Wordsworth, and the rest of this humble school, consists in telling a story in verse, as one gossip would tell it to another over their tea, or in a stage-coach. The angry father is made to threaten; and the effect of the menace is related in the following explicit and matter-of-fact language.

"'You shall be baffled in your mad intent
If there be justice in the Court of France,'
Muttered the Father.—From this time the Youth
Conceived a terror,—and, by night or day,
Stirred no where without arms. To their rural seat,
Meanwhile, his Parents artfully withdrew
Upon some feign'd occasion, and the Son
Remained with one attendant. At midnight
When to his chamber he retired, attempt
Was made to seize him by three armed men,
Acting, in furth'rance of the Father's will,
Under a private signet of the State.
One, did the Youth's ungovernable hand

> Assault and slay;—and to a second gave
> A perilous wound,—he shuddered to behold
> The breathless corse; then peacefully resigned
> His person to the law, was lodged in prison,
> And wore the fetters of a criminal."—(P. 77.)

Now the meaning of the terms and phrases in the above passage are certainly not subject to mistake; and as far as perspicuity is desirable, and it is without doubt an indispensable requisite in all composition, there is merit in this style of poetry; but it is a merit which is shared in equal degree by every well-drawn contract for the hire of a house, or the minutes of the proceedings of a turnpike meeting; and if the extracted passage be poetry, the documents alluded to are only not poetry, because they are not metrical. We venture, however, to think, that a flat and frigid diction cannot be exalted into poetry by rhyme or rhythm; and that something more than plain good-sense, and clear statement, is of the essence of that species of composition, which from the first ages of the world men have agreed to call poetry. Of the diction of poetry we should say emphatically it should be that "in qua non eminent venæ nec ossa numerantur: sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra, et exsurget toris, ipsos quoque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat."

We are not ignorant or unwilling to allow that there is a great beauty in the use of familiar words, skilfully applied and combined, and that some of the most affecting and sublime passages in our great poets are constituted of materials of the cheapest quality: but they are no longer cheap or ordinary in the place into which we find them transplanted; and in giving to them this new value lies the profound secret of the poetical artist. It is by arrangement, and disposition, and combination, that he draws out the latent powers of language, and by the contact of new affinities, mysteriously varies its nature, and endows it with new properties. But if words or phrases of vulgar origin still retain in their new situation the savour of their plebeian stock, they retain also their full disqualification for the post and preferment to which they are advanced. Poets, such as Shakspeare and Milton, have each been the fountain of honour, from which sometimes a language of the lowest birth has derived a nobility of rank. Something doubtless is to be ascribed to the prerogative of transcendent excellence, and something to prescription, and the reconciling effect of time and usage; but the magic really resides in that fine and discriminative tact, which at once detects the capabilities of homely expressions, and snatches them warm and breathing from the intercourse of

common life, to impart their freshness and stamina, and to take on themselves another nature.

But the phraseology and idiom of vulgar life is not irrespectively and absolutely poetical; nor is carelessness of phrase, the franchise of the muse's votary. We live, indeed, in times unfavourable to discipline in all its departments; men claim to write at their ease, as well as to live at their ease; but either habit is equally grounded in mistake, and ends in equal disappointment. To be really at ease, can only consist with being secure of doing well, and this security is only to be arrived at by much preparatory labour, save in some few instances of felicitous endowment. It may be a proper object of a writer's ambition to avoid the appearance of study, but this semblance of facility is in general the fruit only of perseverance, and the consummation of skill. Nothing so deceives and betrays as this appearance of ease in the great models of imitation. The character of labour is lost in the maturity of attainment, and what seems to move with the smallest effort is frequently the least gratuitous in its origin, or facile in contrivance. Thus unfortunately the ease of impertinence is mistaken for the ease of accomplishment, as well in composition as in manners; and to this error we owe the quantity of flippant colloquial trash, which at the present period claims to be poetry, and has its claim extensively allowed. With these men of low standard and presumptuous claims, we are far from intending to class Mr. Wordsworth: but we cannot help regretting that his example should afford countenance to an affectation, so destructive of sound taste, and so encouraging to unqualified pretenders. If all that the poet has to do is to come intelligibly to the point, and deliver himself like a man of business, the inference is strong on the side of the aphorism, that a poet is born such, and not made; for who can not be a poet, on such easy terms, if he will relinquish his last or his spade, and take up the pen. If it is but to lessen the danger which threatens us, in this age of scribes and scholars, of the daily multiplication of rhyming plough-boys, and inspired shoe-makers, we conjure Mr. Wordsworth not to give the sanction of his broad example to a mode, of versifying within the competency of "most men, many women, and some children," to attain.

That Mr. Wordsworth touches the bottom from choice and not necessity, and that his will and not his poverty consents, we think is plainly proved by a great part of his productions, and especially by the specimens contained in the book before us, in which he shows himself not merely acquainted with the deepest operations of feeling, and conversant with all

the springs of natural tenderness, but a master of poetical expression. To justify this remark, we will lay before our readers, what we do not fear to call a most exquisite ode, which the poet tells us was composed upon an evening of extraordinary splendor and beauty:

" Had this effulgence disappeared
With flying haste, I might have sent
Among the speechless clouds a look
Of blank astonishment;
But 'tis endued with power to stay,
And sanctify one closing day,
That frail Mortality may see,
What is?—ah no, but what *can* be!
Time was when field and watery cove
With modulated echoes rang,
While choirs of fervent Angels sang
Their vespers in the grove;
Or, ranged like stars along some sovereign height,
Warbled, for heaven above and earth below,
Strains suitable to both.—Such holy rite,
Methinks, if audibly repeated now
From hill or valley, could not move
Sublimer transport, purer love,
Than doth this silent spectacle—the gleam—
The shadow—and the peace supreme!

" No sound is uttered,—but a deep
And solemn harmony pervades
The hollow vale from steep to steep,
And penetrates the glades.
Far-distant images draw nigh,
Call'd forth by wond'rous potency
Of beamy radiance, that imbues
Whate'er it strikes, with gem-like hues!
In vision exquisitely clear,
Herds range along the mountain side;
And glistening antlers are descried;
And gilded flocks appear.
Thine is the tranquil hour, purpureal Eve!
But long as god-like wish, or hope divine,
Informs my spirit, ne'er can I believe
That this magnificence is wholly thine!
—From worlds not quickened by the sun
A portion of the gift is won;
An intermingling of Heaven's pomp is spread
On ground which British shepherds tread!

" And, if there be whom broken ties
Afflict, or injuries assail,
Yon hazy ridges to their eyes
Present a glorious scale,

Climbing suffused with sunny air,
To stop—no record hath told where!
And tempting fancy to ascend,
And with immortal spirits blend!
—Wings at my shoulder seem to play;
But, rooted here, I stand and gaze
On those bright steps that heaven-ward raise
Their practicable way.
Come forth, ye drooping old men, look abroad
And see to what fair countries ye are bound!
And if some Traveller, weary of his road,
Hath slept since noon-tide on the grassy ground,
Ye Genii! to his covert speed;
And wake him with such gentle heed
As may attune his soul to meet the dow'r
Bestowed on this transcendant hour!

" Such hues from their celestial Urn
Were wont to stream before my eye,
Where'er it wandered in the morn
Of blissful infancy.
This glimpse of glory, why renewed?
Nay, rather speak with gratitude;
For, if a vestige of those gleams
Surviv'd, 'twas only in my dreams.
Dread Power! whom peace and calmness serve
No less than Nature's threatening voice,
If aught unworthy be my choice,
From THEE if I would swerve,
O, let thy grace remind me of the light,
Full early lost and fruitlessly deplored;
Which, at this moment, on my waking sight
Appears to shine, by miracle restored!
My soul, though yet confined to earth,
Rejoices in a second birth;
—'Tis past, the visionary splendour fades,
And Night approaches with her shades."*—(P. 193—197.)

The little song on the September month is full of a sort of cheerful pathos exquisitely borrowed from the scenery of this mellow season. Our readers will, we are sure, sympathise with our admiration of it.

" The sylvan slopes with corn-clad fields
Are hung, as if with golden shields,
Bright trophies of the sun!
Like a fair sister of the sky,

* The multiplication of mountain-ridges, described, at the commencement of the third stanza of this Ode, as a kind of Jacob's Ladder, leading to Heaven, is produced either by watery vapours, or sunny haze,—in the present instance by the latter cause.

Unruffled doth the blue Lake lie,
The Mountains looking on.

" And, sooth to say, yon vocal Grove
Albeit uninspired by love,
By love untaught to ring,
May well afford to mortal ear
An impulse more profoundly dear
Than music of the Spring.

" For *that* from turbulence and heat
Proceeds, from some uneasy seat
In Nature's struggling frame,
Some region of impatient life,
And jealousy, and quivering strife,
Therein a portion claim.

" This, this is holy:—while I hear
These vespers of another year,
This hymn of thanks and praise,
My spirit seems to mount above
The anxieties of human love,
And earth's precarious days.

" But list!—though winter storms be nigh,
Unchecked is that soft harmony:
There lives Who can provide
For all his creatures; and in Him,
Even like the radiant Seraphim,
These Choristers confide." (P. 187, 188.)

The Ode to " the Pass of Kirkstone" is singularly beautiful, and forces us to transgress the bounds to which those who delight in this sort of poetry less than ourselves will think we should confine our extracts: we must make our appeal to those who feel the like infirmities with ourselves in these matters.

" Within the mind strong fancies work,
A deep delight the bosom thrills,
Oft as I pass along the fork
Of these fraternal hills:
Where, save the rugged road, we find
No appanage of human kind;
Nor hint of man, if stone or rock
Seem not his handy-work to mock
By something cognisably shaped;
Mockery—or model—roughly hewn,
And left as if by earthquake strewn,
Or from the Flood escaped:—
Altars for Druid service fit;
(But where no fire was ever lit
Unless the glow-worm to the skies
Thence offer nightly sacrifice:)

Wrinkled Egyptian monument;
Green moss-grown tower; or hoary tent;
Tents of a camp that never shall be raised;
On which four thousand years have gazed!

" Ye plowshares sparkling on the slopes!
Ye snow-white lambs that trip
Imprison'd mid the formal props
Of restless ownership!
Ye trees that may to-morrow fall,
To feed the insatiate Prodigal!
Lawns, houses, chattels, groves, and fields,
All that the fertile valley shields;
Wages of folly—baits of crime,—
Of life's uneasy game the stake,—
Playthings that keep the eyes awake
Of drowsy, dotard Time;—
O care! O guilt!—O vales and plains,
Here, mid his own unvexed domains,
A Genius dwells, that can subdue
At once all memory of You,—
Most potent when mists veil the sky,
Mists that distort and magnify;
While the coarse rushes, to the sweeping breeze,
Sigh forth their ancient melodies!

" List to those shriller notes!—*that* march
Perchance was on the blast,
When through this Height's inverted arch
Rome's earliest legion passed!
—They saw, adventurously impell'd,
And older eyes than theirs beheld,
This block—and yon whose church-like frame
Gives to the savage Pass its name.
Aspiring Road! that lov'st to hide
Thy daring in a vapoury bourn,
Not seldom may the hour return
When thou shalt be my Guide;
And I (as often we find cause,
When life is at a weary pause,
And we have panted up the hill
Of duty with reluctant will)
Be thankful, even though tired and faint,
For the rich bounties of Constraint;
Whence oft invigorating transports flow
That Choice lacked courage to bestow!

" My soul was grateful for delight
That wore a threatening brow;
A veil is lifted—can she slight
The scene that opens now?

Though habitation none appear,
The greenness tells, man must be there;
The shelter—that the perspective
Is of the clime in which we live;
Where Toil pursues his daily round;
Where Pity sheds sweet tears, and Love,
In woodbine bower or birchen grove,
Inflicts his tender wound.
—Who comes not hither ne'er shall know
How beautiful the world below;
Nor can he guess how lightly leaps
The brook adown the rocky steeps.
Farewell thou desolate Domain!
Hope, pointing to the cultur'd Plain,
Carols like a shepherd boy;
And who is she?—can that be Joy?
Who, with a sun-beam for her guide,
Smoothly skims the meadows wide;
While Faith, from yonder opening cloud,
To hill and vale proclaims aloud,
'Whate'er the weak may dread the wicked dare,
Thy lot, O man, is good, thy portion fair!'"

(P. 201—205.)

These charming specimens are with us a decisive proof of the power of Mr. Wordsworth's mind to sustain itself, if, by a strange perverseness of bias, it were not frequently otherwise disposed, at a very lofty level of poetic composition. But we lament to say there is a frequent recurrence of his bad habits and downward ambition throughout this little collection. His genius has a lofty bearing, looking heaven-ward towards the eagle's path; art and imitation combine to keep it down, and compel it to breathe a grosser atmosphere in a lower scale of thought and sentiment. His inequalities are as great as those supposed in his "Pilgrim's Dream," between the star and the glow-worm; which little poem we should select as one of those instances of that depression of taste which interrupts the triumphs of his genius. Not even a dream can cover the extravagance of a dialogue between a glow-worm and one of those celestial luminaries which rational conjecture contemplates as a world of souls; but Mr. Wordsworth has exhibited them in controversy together concerning their respective pretensions, in which, for the sake of the instruction, the weight of sentiment and morality inclines to the side of the reptile. When a worm reasons, perhaps we ought to think it enough, and not expect it to rhyme also; but wherever the attempt is made, it is our duty to mark the failure; and Mr. Wordsworth must allow us to say, that even in lines the most creeping we cannot allow the words "no" and "know," to stand for rhyme.

The Poem "addressed to —— on the longest day;" The "Hint from the Mountains, for certain political aspirants;" "Dion;" the poem, beginning with "Lady, I rifled a Parnassian cave;" would leave the collection improved by their absence in case of another edition; and we are compelled to say of "the Prioress's Tale," that it has failed, to our imagination at least, to

> "Call up him who left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold."

We should be glad that this tale should not be thrice told, but that this collection should, by leaving it out of a future edition, be further improved in negative merit. It is horrible in its facts, disgusting in its narration, and odiously profane in its language.

We ought not to close the book without giving due praise to the prose dissertation on the peculiar scenery of the lakes, at the end of the book. The Essay was published some years ago, as we are told in the advertisement, as an introduction to some views of the lakes by the Rev. Joseph Wilkinson, and is now, with emendations and additions, attached to this volume. It certainly is of value as an illustration of the poems now under our review, but we rate its absolute merit very high. Among many topics of rural beauty, it contains an ingenious illustration of the advantages which winter has over summer in the display of mountainous prospect; a very interestingly picturesque description of the disposition and effect of the cottages in the vales; and more particularly of the gradual formation of woody scenery, by nature and time. We think we shall be excused if we lay before our readers what occurs on the last-mentioned subject.

"If these general rules be just, what shall we say to whole acres of artificial shrubbery and exotic trees among rocks and dashing torrents, with their own wild wood in sight—where we have the whole contents of the nurseryman's catalogue jumbled together—colour at war with colour, and form with form—among the most peaceful subjects of Nature's kingdom every where discord, distraction, and bewilderment! But this deformity, bad as it is, is not so obtrusive as the small patches and large tracts of larch plantations that are over-running the hill-sides. To justify our condemnation of these, let us again recur to Nature. The process, by which she forms woods and forests, is as follows. Seeds are scattered indiscriminately by winds, brought by waters, and dropped by birds. They perish, or produce, according as the soil upon which they fall is suited to them; and under the same dependence, the seedling or sucker, if not cropped by animals, thrives, and the tree grows, sometimes single, taking its own shape without constraint, but for the most part being compelled to conform itself to some law imposed upon it by its neighbours. From low and shel-

tered places, vegetation travels upwards to the more exposed; and the young plants are protected, and to a certain degree fashioned, by those that have preceded them. The continuous mass of foliage which would be thus produced, is broken by rocks, or by glades or open places, where the browzing of animals has prevented the growth of wood. As vegetation ascends, the winds begin also to bear their part in moulding the forms of the trees; but, thus mutually protected, trees, though not of the hardiest kind, are enabled to climb high up the mountains. Gradually, however, by the quality of the ground, and by increasing exposure, a stop is put to their ascent; the hardy trees only are left; these also, by little and little, give way,—and a wild and irregular boundary is established, graceful in its outline, and never contemplated without some feeling more or less distinct of the powers of nature by which it is imposed.

"Contrast the liberty that encourages, and the law that limits, this joint work of nature and time, with the disheartening necessities, restrictions, and disadvantages, under which the artificial planter must proceed, even he whom long observation and fine feeling have best qualified for his task. In the first place his trees, however well chosen and adapted to their several situations, must generally all start at the same time; and this circumstance would of itself prevent that fine connection of parts, that sympathy and organization, if I may so express myself, which pervades the whole of a natural wood, and appears to the eye in its single trees, its masses of foliage, and their various colours when they are held up to view on the side of a mountain; or, when spread over a valley, they are looked down upon from an eminence. It is then impossible, under any circumstances, for the artificial planter to rival the beauty of nature." (P. 297—299.)

We always leave Mr. Wordsworth with regret, but on no occasion have we left him with so much regret as on the present. He has touched in these poems some of the finest springs of natural pathos; and we do really think that there is enough in the collection before us to fix the wreath upon his brows too firmly to be torn off by his own hands in any of his fits of prosaic depression, or temporary rage for simplicity.

ART. III.—*A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America, delivered before the New York Historical Society.* By Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D. D. 8vo. New York, 1820.

THE Historical Society of New York was incorporated in the year 1809, for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever relates to the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of the American Union generally, and of the state of New York in particular. In 1814 this society received

from the legislature of that state, a grant of fifty thousand dollars, and an annuity of five hundred. Thus patronized and endowed, it has been laudably occupied in promoting the design for which it was instituted: its library contains nearly nine thousand volumes, principally relative to American history and literature; and in March, 1817, the society passed a law for the establishment of lectureships on zoology, geology, botany, vegetable physiology, mineralogy and natural philosophy. Of its publications, two volumes of historical "Collections" only have reached this country; they are chiefly filled with extracts from the journals of the early navigators, who first visited the continent of North America; and they also contain some of the discourses delivered at the anniversary meetings of the society.

At the annual meeting of 1819, the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, who holds the office of Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States, delivered the discourse now under consideration, which we seize the earliest opportunity of bringing before our readers, on account of the very interesting nature of the subject discussed in it, which (he truly remarks) has not been viewed with that largeness of observation which is the characteristic of enlightened philosophy. Various causes, indeed, may be mentioned, which have hitherto conspired to prevent, or to impede, an examination into the religion of the Indian tribes of North America. In the first place the horror, proceeding from the cruelties of their warfare, forbade the calmness of investigation. As long as those tribes were formidable, curiosity was overpowered by terror: and there was neither leisure, nor inclination, to contemplate their character as a portion of the human family, "while the glare of conflagration reddened the midnight sky, and the yells of the savage, mingled with the shrieks of butchered victims, rode as portentous messengers, upon every gale." But although that state of things has long since ceased to exist, the contempt which has succeeded to fear in the minds of the Anglo-Americans, has operated in some degree to prevent or to retard inquiry into the religion of the native tribes. The Indians themselves also are not communicative on this subject: and it requires much familiar and unsuspected observation to obtain any knowledge respecting it. Hence many, who have been transiently resident among them, have very confidently pronounced that they have *no* religion;—an assertion, which subsequent and more accurate travellers have shown to be entirely unfounded. Again, those writers on whom we rely for information, have either been too little informed to know what they should observe, or they have been

influenced by peculiar modes of thinking, which have given a tinge to all they have said upon the subject. Thus, our countryman, Adair, who had the greatest opportunities of obtaining knowledge, from *forty* years' residence among the Indian tribes of North America, has rendered his "History of the American Indians" comparatively of little use, by adopting the theory that they are descended from the ten tribes of Israel. Every thing is made subservient to this hypothesis, and the philosophic reader is led to suspect the fidelity of his statements, on finding that his judgment had lost its equipoise, and that he has seen every thing through a discoloured medium.*

Among other arguments adduced by Adair for the identity of the North American Indians with the Hebrews, he has laid much stress upon the supposed use of the Hebrew words *Jehovah* and *Hallelujah* among the Indians. But Dr. Jarvis has shown, that as to the former word the fact is *not* certain; and that, even supposing the latter to be uttered, it proves nothing, as the ancient Greeks had a similar acclamation. All such arguments are extremely unsatisfactory, and can weigh nothing in opposition to the facts, that the American languages have no affinity with the Hebrew; that the Indians have not the least knowledge of written characters; that none of them practise the rite of circumcision; and that there are no traces among them of the observation of the sabbath. To these facts it may be added, that while the nation of Israel has been wonderfully preserved, the Indians are nearly exterminated. The Israelites will, hereafter, be restored to the land of their forefathers; but this event must speedily arrive, or the unhappy tribes of America cannot participate in it. A few years more, and they will be beyond the capability of migration. The question therefore, with regard to the immediate origin of the American Indians, must, at least for the present, remain in the uncertainty which hangs over it.

Dr. Jarvis arranges his disquisition, on the Religion of the American Indians, under the following heads: viz. The Supreme Being,—A future State of Rewards and Punishments,—Expiatory Sacrifices for Sin,—their Priesthood,—and their Jongleurs or Jugglers.

1. *Of the Supreme Being.*—They acknowledge One Supreme Being, whom they denominate the Great Spirit, or the Master of Life, the Creator and the Governor of the World. Accord-

* The hypothesis of Adair was revived in 1816 by Dr. Elias Boudinot, in an ingenious and well-written volume, published at Trenton (New Jersey), entitled, "The Star in the West, or a humble Attempt to discover the long-lost ten Tribes of Israel, preparatory to their Return to their beloved City, Jerusalem." 12mo.

ing to Charlevoix, the Hurons call him Areskoui, and the Iroquois, by a slight variation, Agreskoué. He is with them the God of War: his name they invoke as they march. It is the signal to engage, and it is the war-cry in the hottest of the battle.

But, besides the Supreme Being, they believe in an infinite number of subaltern spirits, who are the objects of worship, and whom they divide into good and bad. The good spirits are called, by the Hurons, *Okkis*, and by the Algonquins, *Manittos;* they suppose them to be the guardians of men, and that each has his own tutelary deity. In fact, with them, every thing in nature has its spirit, though all have not the same rank, nor the same influence. The animals they hunt have their spirits. If they do not understand any thing, they immediately say, *It is a spirit.* If any man performs a remarkable exploit or exhibits extraordinary talents, he is said *to be a spirit;* or, in other words, his tutelary deity is supposed to be of more than ordinary power.

"It is remarkable, however, that these tutelary deities are not supposed to take men under their protection till something has been done to merit the favour. A parent, who wishes to obtain a guardian spirit for his child, first blackens his face, and then causes him to fast for several days. During this time it is expected that the spirit will reveal himself in a dream; and on this account, the child is anxiously examined every morning with regard to the visions of the preceding night. Whatever the child happens to dream of the most frequently, even if it happen to be the head of a bird, the foot of an animal, or any thing of the most worthless nature, becomes the symbol or figure under which the *Okki* reveals himself. With this figure, in the conceptions of his votary, the spirit becomes identified; the image is preserved with the greatest care—is the constant companion on all great and important occasions, and the constant object of consultation and worship." (P. 22.)

Mr. Heckewelder describes the same custom under the name of *Initiation of Boys*,

"—a practice," he says, "which is very common among the Indians, and indeed is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world.

"When a boy is to be thus *initiated*, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind

becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared before hand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the Mannitto or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

"When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings." *

This practice of blackening the face and fasting, together with the use of emetics, as a system of religious purification, for the purpose of obtaining a guardian spirit, appears to have existed formerly among the natives of Virginia and New England; though the first settlers were not always able to ascertain the real object of the ceremonies which they beheld. Dr. Jarvis has collected some curious instances from their narratives, for which we have not room.

"As soon as a child is informed what is the nature or form of his protecting deity, he is carefully instructed in the obligations he is under to do him homage—to follow his advice communicated in dreams—to deserve his favours—to confide implicitly in his care—and to dread the consequences of his displeasure. For this reason, when the Huron or the Iroquois goes to battle or to the chase, the image of *his idol* is as carefully carried with him as his arms.† At night, each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors, or hunters, are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded that his spirit

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* Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indian Nations, pp. 248, 249. Of this very curious and authentic work, the reader will find some account in the British Review, vol. xiv. pp. 247—266.

† In 1584, when Virginia was first discovered, the captain of one of the vessels sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, states, concerning the inhabitants of the Island of Roanoak, that "within the place where they feede was their lodging, and *where their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speak incredible things.*" Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 249, 4to. Lond. 1600. "*When they goe to warres they carry about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo.* They sing songs as they marche towardes the battell instead of drummes." &c. Ibid. p. 250.

will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear." (P. 22, 23.)

The preceding account of the Hurons or Iroquois, by Charlevoix, is perfectly in unison with the relations given by the Moravian missionaries, not only concerning the Iroquois, but also of the Lenapes or Delaware Indians, and all the tribes derived from them. It is a part of their religious belief that there are inferior *mannittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that, being so great, he (like their chiefs) must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; that these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man,) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; and that they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of any assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger.

"Thus," says Mr. Heckewelder, "I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the Mannitto of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

"There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives, and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Glicanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

"It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great 'Sentinel over mankind,' the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: 'Up! up! Danger! Danger!' Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

"But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of

their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make their solemn sacrifices."*

Similar notions obtain among the Indians who inhabit the country extending from Labrador, across the Continent, to the highlands which divide the waters on Lake Superior from those of Hudson's Bay; as also among the native inhabitants of the West Indian Islands concerning whom we have any authentic accounts preserved. Whence it appears that, throughout this vast extent of country, including nations whose languages are radically different, nations unconnected with, and unknown to each other, the greatest uniformity of belief prevails, with regard to the Supreme Being, and the greatest harmony in their system of polytheism. After this view, Dr. Jarvis observes,

"It is impossible not to remark, that there is a smaller departure from the original religion among the Indians of America, than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The idea of the Divine Unity is much more perfectly preserved; the subordinate divinities are kept at a much more immeasurable distance from the Great Spirit; and, above all, there has been no attempt among them to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the universe. In fact, theirs is exactly that milder form of idolatry which 'prevailed every where from the days of Abraham, his single family excepted,' and which, after the death of that patriarch and of his son Isaac, infected, from time to time, even the chosen family itself." (P. 29.)

II. The belief of a *future state of rewards and punishments* has been kept alive among all heathen nations, by its connexion with the sensible enjoyments and sufferings, and the consequent hopes and terrors of men. Its origin must have been in Divine Revelation; for it is impossible to conceive that the mind could attain to it by its own unassisted powers. But the thought, when once communicated, would, in the shipwreck of dissolving nature, be clung to, with the grasp of expiring hope. Hence no nations have yet been found, however rude and barbarous, who have not agreed in the great and general principle of retributive immortality; but, when we descend to detail, and enquire into their peculiar notions, we find that their traditions are coloured by the nature of their earthly occupations, and by the opinions which they thence entertain on the subject of good and evil. This remark is fully verified by the history of the American Indians, among whom the belief of the immortality of the soul is most firmly established.

"They suppose, that when separated from the body, it preserves the same inclinations which it had when both were united. For this rea-

* Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indian Nations, pp. 203, 204.

son, they bury with the dead all that they had in use when alive. Some imagine that all men have two souls, one of which never leaves the body unless it be to inhabit another. This transmigration, however, is peculiar to the souls of those who die in infancy, and who therefore have the privilege of commencing a second life, because they enjoyed so little of the first. Hence children are buried along the highways, that the women, as they pass, may receive their souls. From this idea of their remaining with the body, arises the duty of placing food upon their graves; and mothers have been seen to draw from their bosoms that nourishment which these little creatures loved when alive, and shed it upon the earth which covered their remains.

"When the time has arrived for the departure of those spirits which leave the body, they pass into a region which is destined to be their eternal abode, and which is therefore called the Country of Souls. This country is at a great distance toward the west, and to go thither costs them a journey of many months. They have many difficulties to surmount, and many perils to encounter. They speak of a stream in which many suffer shipwreck;—of a dog from which they, with difficulty, defend themselves;—of a place of suffering where they expiate their faults;—of another in which the souls of those prisoners who have been tortured are again tormented, and who therefore linger on their course, to delay as long as possible the moment of their arrival. From this idea it proceeds, that after the death of these unhappy victims, for fear their souls may remain around the huts of their tormentors from the thirst of vengeance, the latter are careful to strike every place around them with a staff, and to utter such terrible cries as may oblige them to depart." (P. 30—32.)

To be put to death as a captive is, therefore, an exclusion from the Indian Paradise: while, on the contrary, to have been a good hunter, brave in war, fortunate in enterprize, and victorious over many enemies, are the only titles to enter their abodes of bliss, the happiness of which depends on the situation and circumstances of the respective tribes or nations. Thus, eternal spring, a never-failing supply of game and fish, and an abundance of every thing which can delight the senses without the labour of procuring it, constitute the paradise of those, who often return weary and hungry from the chace, who are frequently exposed to the inclemencies of a wintery sky, and who look upon all labour as unmanly and degrading employment. On the other hand, the Arrowauks, or natives of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Trinidad, place their enjoyments in every thing that is opposite to the violence of a tropical climate; while their fierce enemies, the Charaibes, look forward to a paradise, in which the brave will be attended by their wives and captives.

"Thus the ideas of the savage, with regard to the peculiar nature of future bliss or woe, are always modified by associations arising from

his peculiar situation, his peculiar turn of thought, and the pains and pleasures of the senses. With regard to the question in what their happiness or misery will consist, they differ; but with regard to the existence of a future state, and that it will be a state of retribution for the deeds done in the body, they agree without exception, and their faith is bright and cloudless. 'Whether you are divinities or mortal men,' said an old man of Cuba to Columbus, 'we know not—but if you are men, subject to mortality like ourselves, you cannot be unapprised, that after this life there is another, wherein a very different portion is allotted to good and bad men. If, therefore, you expect to die, and believe, with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct in the present, you will do no hurt to those who do none to you.'

"This relation is given us by Martyr, and it is sufficient to show, with what exactness the primitive belief has been retained. This man was a savage, but he spoke the language of the purest revelation." (P. 34, 35.)

III. All who have been conversant with the worship of the American tribes, unite in the assertion that they offer *sacrifices and oblations* both to the Great Spirit and also to the subordinate or inferior divinities, to propitiate their protection, or to avert calamity, and also eucharistic sacrifices for success in war. In like manner, sacrifices were offered by all the inhabitants of the West Indies; and, among these, the Charaibes were accustomed to immolate some of the captives who had been taken in battle. The Mexicans, it is also known, offered human sacrifices: but of this practice there are no traces among the *present* Indian tribes, unless the tormenting of their captives may be considered as a sacrifice to the god of war. Dr. Jarvis has substantiated the preceding facts by a variety of evidence, which he closes with the following sensible observations on the origin and extent of expiatory sacrifices.

"That the practice of sacrifice, as an expiation for sin, formed a prominent feature in the religion of all the nations of the old world, is a truth too well known to require proof. That it formed a part of the patriarchal religion is equally evident; and that it must have been of divine institution will, I think, be admitted, after a very little reflexion. The earliest instance of worship, recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel, at a period when no permission had yet been given to eat animal food, and no pretext could have possibly presented itself to the mind of man for taking the life of any of the creatures of God. It is equally inconceivable, that by any deduction of unassisted reason, the mind could have arrived at the conclusion, that to destroy a part of creation, could be acceptable to the Creator; much less, that it could be viewed as an act of homage. The difficulty is still greater, when it is considered that this was intended as an expiation for the sins of the offerer. How could the shedding of the blood of an animal be looked upon as an atonement for the offences,

which man had committed against his Maker? This would have been to make an act, at which nature would at once have involuntarily shuddered, the expiation of another act which might not in itself be so hurtful or so barbarous.

"This reasoning is further strengthened by the next instance of worship recorded in the Bible. When Noah had descended from the ark, the first act of a religious nature which he performed, was to build an altar and to offer sacrifice. Human reason would have dictated a course of conduct directly opposite; for it would have told him not to diminish the scanty remnant of life; especially when the earth was already covered with the victims which had perished in the mighty waste of waters.

"But if of divine institution, the question then arises, what was the reason of the institution? Every intelligent being proposes to himself some end—some design to be accomplished by his actions. What, then, with reverence let it be asked, was the design of God?

"To the Christian the solution of this inquiry is not difficult. He has learned, that in the secret counsels of almighty wisdom, the death of the Messiah was essential for the salvation of man; that in his death, the first of our race was as much interested as he will be, who will listen to the last stroke of departing time; that it was necessary, therefore, to establish a representation of this great event as a sign of the future blessing, in order to keep alive the hopes and the expectations of men; and that this was effected by the slaughter of an innocent animal, whose life was in the blood, and whose blood poured out was the symbol of His death, who offered himself a ransom for the sins of men.

"Assuming this as the origin and intent of sacrifice, it is easy to account for its universal prevalence among mankind. Noah, as we have seen, offered a burnt offering immediately after he left the Ark. From him, and his three sons, did their posterity derive the practice; and we find from the Scriptures, that it prevailed among all the nations, which, from their connexion with the family of Israel, are there incidentally mentioned.

"If we turn to profane history, we cannot open a volume without meeting every where the record of sacrifice. The Phenicians, the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, the nations in the north of Europe and Asia, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain—in a word, every heathen nation, of which we have any records remaining, constantly offered sacrifice as an expiation for sin. The gradual corruption of the true religion, while it caused the origin of the rite to be forgotten, made no other alteration in the practice than such as regarded the quality of the victim. Human reason must, at all times, have perceived, how inadequate was the slaughter of animals to atone for the sins of mankind. A nobler victim seemed to be demanded; and it was not to be wondered at, that the blood of men, and even of children, as approaching nearer to innocence, should finally be considered as essential to obtain the grant of pardon.

"To find the same practice prevailing among all the Indian tribes of America, a practice deriving its origin, not from any dictate of na-

ture, or from the deductions of reason, but resting solely upon the positive institution of God, affords the most triumphant evidence, that they sprang from the common parent of mankind, and that their religion, like that of all other heathen nations, is derived by a gradual deterioration from that of Noah. At the same time, it will be seen, that they are far from having sunk to the lowest round on the scale of corruption. With the exception of the Mexicans, their religious rites have a character of mildness which we should elsewhere seek in vain." (P. 44—48.)

IV. With sacrifices, the idea of a *priesthood* is naturally connected. On this subject the testimony of travellers is somewhat discordant; but Dr. Jarvis well remarks, that if a priest be one whose exclusive duty it is to celebrate the rites of religion, then it must be admitted that a priesthood exists among the Indians; for those, who deny that they have priests, allow that in their public sacrifices, the chiefs are the only persons who are permitted to officiate, while in private the head of every family discharges the sacerdotal functions. The only difference then lies in this, whether the priesthood be or be not connected with the office of a magistrate.

"Among Christians, as among the Jews, the priesthood is distinct from the civil authority; but previous to the separation of the family of Aaron, these two offices were generally united. Melchizedeck was both king of Salem and priest of the most High God. Jethro was, at the same time, priest and prince of Midian; and Abraham himself, who is called a prince, performed the sacerdotal functions. We find this union of the regal and sacerdotal characters existing among heathen nations. Homer describes the aged Pylian King as performing religious rites; and Virgil tells of the Monarch of Delos, who was both priest and king:

'Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.'

"Among the Creeks, and other Southern Indians, a monarchical form of government seems to prevail; among the Northern Indians, a republican. In both, the sacerdotal office may be united with civil authority, and therefore partake of its peculiar character. Among the one, it may be hereditary; among the other, elective. And if this be so, it will be seen that the Religion of the Indians approaches much nearer to the patriarchal, than to that of the Jews. Their public sacerdotal offices are performed by their chiefs, and in their private, the head of every family is its priest." (P. 50, 51.)

V. But there is another office which exists among all the Indian tribes, though it has been confounded by many travellers with the priesthood, but concerning which there is no diversity in their statements. To this class of men the French missionaries give the name of *Jongleurs*, whence the English have derived that of *jugglers* or conjurors. Our author has collected

several curious particulars relative to the frauds committed by these impostors, and their powerful influence on the superstitious minds of the untutored Indians; but for these we have not room. They are supposed to possess the power of curing diseases miraculously, of procuring rain and other temporal blessings in the same supernatural manner, of foretelling future events, and of miraculously inflicting punishment on the objects of their displeasure. The coincidence between the powers claimed by these impostors, and the external characteristics of the prophetic office, particularly in the patriarchal age, is noticed by Dr. Jarvis; and he considers it as strengthening the analogy, which subsists between the religion of the American Indians and that of the patriarchal times. The result of all his facts and reasonings is, that they are a primitive people, who, like the Chinese, must have been among the earlier emigrants of the descendants of Noah; that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society as to become entirely separated from all other men; and that in this way they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character than is to be found in any other portion of the globe. Whether they came *immediately* to the western continent, or arrived there by *gradual progression*, is a point that can never be ascertained at this distance of time, and is in fact an inquiry of little moment. It is, however, probable that, like the northern hordes, who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great; and that from one vast reservoir, they flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, until they had covered the whole of the vast North American continent. At least this hypothesis may account for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated by Mr. Duponceau,* (in his Report on the characters and terms of the Indian languages, addressed to the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society,) that these languages form a separate class in human speech, and that in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coast of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn. This fact opens a wide field for interesting speculation; upon which, however agreeable to the philologist, the length of the present article admonishes us not to enter. We shall add only one extract more.

"Like all other nations unblessed with the light of Christianity, the Indians are idolaters; but their idolatry is of the mildest character, and has departed less than among any other people from the form of pri-

* In the Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1819.

meval truth.—Their belief in a future state is clear and distinct, debased only by those corporeal associations which proceed from the constitutional operations of our nature, and from which even Christians, therefore, are not totally exempt.—They retain among them the great principle of expiation for sin, without which all religion would be unavailing.—And they acknowledge, in all the common occurrences of life, and even in their very superstitions, the overruling power of Divine Providence, to which they are accustomed to look up with an implicit confidence, which might often put to shame the disciples of a purer faith.

"Provided, then, that their suspicions respecting every gift bestowed by the hands of white men, can be overcome, the comparative purity of their religion renders it so much the easier to propagate among them the Gospel of Salvation. In this view, is it possible for the benevolent heart to restrain the rising wish, that the scanty remnant of this unfortunate race may be brought within the verge of civilized life, and made to feel the influence, the cheering and benign influence, of Christianity? Is it not to be wished, that the God whom they ignorantly worship, may be declared to them, and that, together with the practices they have so long preserved, may be united that doctrine which alone can illumine what is obscure, and unravel what is intricate? If this be desirable, it must be done quickly, or the opportunity will be for ever lost. Should our prejudices prevent it, we must remember that their faults will be obscured, and their virtues brightened, by the tints of time. Posterity will think of them, more in pity than in anger, and will blame us for the little regard which has been paid to their welfare.

"Hapless nations!—Like the mists which are exhaled by the scorching radiance of your summer's sun, ye are fast disappearing from the earth. But there is a Great Spirit above, who, though for wise purposes he causes you to disappear from the earth, still extends his protecting care to you, as well as to the rest of his creatures.—There is a country of Souls, a happier, and better country, which will be opened, we may charitably hope, to you, as well as to the other children of Adam.—There is the atoning blood of the Redeemer, which was shed for you, as well as the rest of mankind: the efficacy of which you have unwittingly continued to plead; and which may be extended, in its salutary influence, even to those who have never called on, because they have never heard, THE NAME OF THE SON OF GOD." (P. 62—64.)

In the justice and propriety of these concluding remarks of the author, our readers we are sure will readily concur, and with these we recommend the work to the candour and attention of the inquisitive and reflecting reader.

Art. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS.

The Christian and Civic Economy of large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Minister of St. John's Church, Glasgow.

No. I. *The Advantage and Possibility of assimilating a Town to a Country Parish.*

No. II. *On the Influence of Locality in Towns.*

No. III. *Application of the Principle of Locality in Towns to the Work of a Christian Minister. To be continued Quarterly.* Glasgow. Chalmers and Collins. 1820.

WE can easily imagine what were the circumstances which led to the present work. Dr. Chalmers finds himself placed in a large provincial capital, and seeing himself surrounded by the vice and misery with which such places generally abound, beholds in them a call for exertion, and an opening for doing good. But coming to the attempt, he soon finds that all that he, and all that his coadjutors can effect, is inadequate to the evil. Vice is seen to be increasing under all their efforts to repress it. The tree of evil grows under their pruning. Accordingly, his mind goes to work. He begins to ruminate; and the result is, "The Christian and Civic Economy of large Towns."

We have seen it observed, that a parish minister may judge of his own spiritual state, by the degree of interest which he feels for the poor of his flock. There is much truth in this observation. He may ask himself, for instance, and ask with benefit, What anxiety do I feel for the rude and uneducated, that is, for the mass of my parishioners? What portion of my thoughts do they occupy? What pleasure do I take in those homely details of Christian duty which employ, or ought to employ me, among them? What readiness do I feel to postpone other pursuits and employments to this? What is the character of those occupations to which I am glad to turn aside, from this great object? And, above all, what portion of my time is actually and daily spent in going forth among their dwellings? The inquiry, too, may be extended. Religious men who have wealth or leisure, though not ministers, may ask themselves similar questions. It is worth *their* while, also, to ascertain to what extent they employ themselves among their poorer neighbours. Nay, it may be carried farther. Such places and parishes as are accounted, and as account themselves, to have

religious advantages, will do well to inquire what is the state of their poor, especially of their religious poor; and how far they are an object of the care and attentions of their superiors, especially of their religious superiors. The wants, trials, afflictions, and defects, whatever they may be, of every poor neighbourhood, ought to be a constant thorn in the side of every wealthy neighbourhood. And so they will be, wherever there is religious sensibility. None of the body's members can suffer, without the whole body's feeling uneasy, unless, indeed, the vital principle which pervades the whole be at a very low ebb. Therefore the great question is, whether there is in a particular place that pervading christianity which, wherever it exists, is the comprehending and assimilating bond of the church of Christ in that place. The Popish church, which is the primitive church corrupted, has this vestige of its original beauty yet perceptible, and there often is found to exist a bond of union not entirely destroyed between its wealthy and its poorer members. We have observed in Catholic countries tokens of kindly attention and ministration on the part of the rich towards the poor, and of kindly regard and deference on the part of the poor towards the rich, which we should be glad to see more general at home. The symptoms of beneficence and benevolence which we have noticed, have extended indeed less to things spiritual than to things temporal; and this has been their essential defect. But, we are not afraid to say it, that a regard to the future concerns of a needy population, which neglects their present concerns, that zeal for the salvation of the soul, which entirely postpones or lays out of the account the comforts of the body, wants an essential feature in the character of "true religion and undefiled." It may busy itself, and persevere, and labour; but such labour is not the labour of love.

Philanthropists are apt to be apprehensive of the mischiefs that are likely to arise from giving away money among the poor, and experience has proved that the apprehension is well grounded; but when you come to the religious poor, the rule ceases to hold good. With regard to them the case is altered. Here, the usual danger of spoiling and enervating exists no longer. In seeking to be of service to a poor man, there is no need to be so delicate about attempting to gain your end by pecuniary means, if that poor man be a Christian. The distributor of eleemosynary bounties will not seldom find, in his walks among the Christian poor, a self-denial, a feeling of what is just and right, a humble independence, and an uprightness of character, fitted to adorn a higher station. The old fathers speak of the poor of their communities as their *primates*, their *magnates*. They do well. There is no fear of debasing by kindness the generous

energy of the Christian spirit. As the free grace of God produces in all his servants an ardour of obedience and diligence, which can spring from no mere system of rewards and punishments, so the bounty of the Christian benefactor brings forth in the Christian poor a hearty desire and purpose of exertion, which could spring from no system of motives derived from a worldly spirit. The feeling seems to be this, and it is truly scriptural. Having experienced the bounty which flows from Christian charity, let *me*, also, learn to labour with my own hands, that I may have to give to them that need. Therefore the Christian may do all that lies in his power, to better, even by actual liberality, the condition of his poorer brother, and need not be afraid of consequences.

There certainly does exist in the present day, as Dr. Chalmers opens his work by observing, a great inclination to do good.

"There is a great deal of philanthropy afloat in this our day. At no period, perhaps, in the history of the human mind, did a desire of doing good so earnest, meet with a spirit of inquiry so eager, after the best and likeliest methods of carrying the desire into accomplishment. Amid all that looks dark and menacing, in the present exhibitions of society, this, at least, must be acknowledged, that never was there a greater quantity of thought embarked on those speculations which, whether with Christian or merely economical writers, have the one common object of promoting the worth and comfort of our species." (Preface, p. 1.)

Yet is it one of the evils of the present day, that there is a line of distinction, marked with peculiar strength, between the rich community and the poor community, taken as bodies. They form two distinct groups, as it were; two divided, alienated, incongruous masses; with feelings hostile to each other too frequently pervading both. The division extends, even, in some degree, to the religious public. There is a rich church, and there is a poor church. And these are not one, but two: we mean, that they are by no means united by any visible bond of union as they ought to be. How little union is there even in public worship! How small is the ratio of poor to rich in most congregations, compared with the ratio of poor to rich in the parishes or vicinities from which the congregations are drawn. How many chapels in London and elsewhere are occupied almost exclusively by the wealthier orders of worshippers; how many churches and meeting-houses almost exclusively by the middling orders: unless indeed we take into account the children who are brought there by schools, with perhaps a sprinkling of adults of the lower orders, in an inverse ratio to their comparative numbers out of doors. Not only, therefore, does the

amount of persons who attend religious worship throughout the country form an alarming disproportion to the whole number of inhabitants, but the calculation becomes even more alarming when we consider that even of those who do attend, the very reverse of a fair share are of the lower orders. We fear it may not only be said that the rich and the poor are divided in their public worship, but, something much worse than this, that, in a great majority of places, with the exception of the rising generation brought together by means of schools, there are no masses of poor who assemble to worship anywhere. This is bad. It is bad for the poor. But it is also bad for the rich. It is bad for them, even if they are sensible of the evil. But if they are insensible to it, it is worse.

There will always exist a class of needy persons in the community. This seems to have been taught by Moses, when he said, "the poor shall never cease out of the land." And our Lord confirms the prediction, when he intimates that we are to have the poor always with us. We apprehend, there will always be a religious poor: we mean, religious persons not merely in humble circumstances, but suffering the ills of poverty: persons, too, whose condition *admits* of being mended, while it requires to be mended; and therefore persons whose condition will always offer, as it always has offered, a stimulus to the devices and the exertions of christian benevolence. In former days, attempts were generally independent and isolated, and of course little good was effected, in comparison with the mass of evil which required to be remedied. It was reserved for the present age to adopt, upon an extensive scale, the system of societies; and great, but still inadequate results have followed. The breach between the rich and the poor is not yet made up. The two incongruous bodies are not yet amalgamated.—Yet we hail the era of societies. They show that there is at least a very general wish to do good. Add to this, moreover, that much good has actually been done by them, and that much more is in progress. The ice has been broken. The first advances to re-union have been made, though re-union is not yet effected. The two masses are approximating, and we hope, as they draw near, will be found to approximate with a continually accelerated velocity. But the object in view will not be accomplished while the main device of the day is to get at the poor only through the medium of societies. There must, first, be what Dr. Chalmers calls an aggressive movement (of which more hereafter), and that on the part of individuals. While we endeavour to act on the poor only through societies, though societies have their use, it is as if we were endeavouring to act upon something with an instrument, which we were afraid of

touching with our hands: and therefore our influence on them is less direct and effectual than it ought to be. Power is lost, as when we attempt to move a body placed at the advantageous end of a lever.

The object then, at present, is far from being attained. In most (even religious) neighbourhoods, much remains to be done; though, on coming to particular inquiry, much may be found to have been done already. To a rightly constituted mind, both what has been effected will be an encouragement, and what remains to be effected a stimulus, to farther exertion. We know at present of few places on which we could lay our hands, and say that there the wants and the sufferings of the mass of the poor have been perceptibly relieved, or their condition perceptibly ameliorated, by the efforts of the rich. And yet with this there is the certainty that few are the vicinities where there are not persons in the present day, who, if they did but know how to go effectually to work, are willing, and ready, and desirous to begin, and to give their time, their attention, and their substance, to the great object of christianizing and conciliating a demoralized and alienated population.

Many causes might be assigned of past failures. One is, a desponding apprehension that there is little to be done; another, a bold, generalizing spirit, which attempts to do too much. Another still, as far as the religious poor are concerned, is that the church of Christ is too much blended and confounded with the world: and still another is, that the church is not sufficiently cemented in itself. This last we apprehend to be the greatest obstacle of all. The "communion of saints" is as little thought of, as if there were no such thing in existence. There is little or no Christian unity. We do not mean as to attending the same place of worship, (though that undoubtedly is a desirable object), or being members of the same denomination. On these points there might be a difference of opinion and of practice, and yet a union of hearts. But we say, this union of hearts is wanting. There is a want of feeling, on the part of the members of the Christian church, of every denomination, that the whole number of Christians in the world, and the whole number in every particular place, are one body, and a distinct society. We are not bigoted advocates for conformity, which often exists without communion. We are not *bigoted* advocates for the claims of our church, (though amongst her faithful children). But we are at least unbending advocates for the claims of the universal church of Christ. We have observed that there exists, we must say it, amongst most classes of believers, a lamentable and very observable want of proper, scriptural ideas, upon the subject of communion,—an indifference

to right feelings upon the subject,—and, sometimes, a reluctance to hear of them. The poorer brethren are the sufferers. The great enemy of the church has spread the disease through our ranks, and the multitude fall victims.

" Νῆσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί."

It is too much forgotten, meanwhile, that the suffering Christian poor are the honourable and the distinguished members of the community: that God " hath chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom:" and that according as they have been " visited," " clothed," and ministered to, will be the division and the final destinies of the last day.

We have no doubt, that if this grand obstacle to the amelioration of the condition of the poor arising out of the almost total want of religious unity among the religious of the middling and higher classes could once be overcome, then that other obstacle, the grand division of the rich and the poor into two parties, which would still continue to exist, would soon be overcome also. If the rich church and the poor church, instead of being each totally disunited and dismembered as they now are, formed each a mass, they would soon begin to act upon one another. The wants of the whole poor would act upon the Christian sensibility of the whole rich: the united zeal and resources of the rich would act on the exigences of the poor:— and we should soon see another state of things. Meanwhile, any plan deserves attention, which offers the means of accelerating this most desirable consummation, and we gladly hail the work of Dr. Chalmers, of which we shall now proceed to offer some account.

The title to the publication is by no means inappropriate. It is to be published quarterly, and we have now three numbers before us, each containing a chapter. In the main, our views completely coincide with the author's. But, on one or two points, it will be seen that we are at issue. And on these we shall frankly express our sentiments.

Number, or Chapter, the first is inscribed, " The Advantage and Possibility of assimilating a Town to a Country Parish." The subjects of which it treats are arranged under the following topics: first, the error of those political philanthropists who do not admit Christianity, as an element, into their speculations; secondly, the error of those Christian philanthropists who do not admit political science, as an element, into theirs; and, thirdly, the invasions of professional function which ministers in Scotland have lately experienced, especially in towns, by secularities which have been laid upon the clerical office. Under the first head, Dr. Chalmers seems to intimate the pos-

sibility of these two classes of which he speaks, political economists and Christian philanthropists, affording mutual assistance in the great work of moral reform Now, as far as affording mutual information goes, we agree with him. But, as to their acting together, we conceive there is little prospect of its ever taking place. The Christian philanthropist meets indeed the mere political economist at the quarterly or yearly assembly. But then he may generally count upon having all the work of detail to himself, and most probably will see and hear little more of his coadjutor, till the next general meeting. But be this as it may, if we may be permitted to speak from our own observation and experience, we should say that when it comes to acting and to detail, the Christian, in labouring for Christian objects, can only act with Christians. If Jehoshaphat chooses to go down with Ahab, even for so good a purpose as that of fighting against the Syrians, he must take the consequences of being found in such bad company, and may have to fly for his life.

We have also another exception to make. We are not now going to enter into a particular discussion of what appear to be Dr. Chalmers's political principles, though we cannot but confess, they differ from what appear to us to be the set of opinions *necessarily* connected with those sound views of evangelical truth which, in so many of his works, the Doctor has so ably maintained. But we cannot help asking, and we ask it with the deference due to his high character, why should he express them here? Why should he bring them forward in a work in which political feelings should be the last to show themselves? In one place, he adopts the language of the political economist, and censures, with some asperity, the "obtrusive interferences" of government. (Page 5.) In another, and that in his character of a Christian minister, he employs the language of resentment, we had almost said of menace, in animadverting on the "profanation" inflicted by "the rulers of our country," on the sacredness of its officiating ministers. (P. 35, 36.) It is our feeling, that there is an inconsistency in all this. A man, whose political feelings are such as are here expressed, and whose religious sentiments are such as we know Dr. Chalmers's to be, must, we apprehend, give up one or the other, for we cannot see how both can long be retained together. We have thought it necessary to bear our testimony upon these subjects; and, having thus, as it were, lifted off a load from our minds, are happy in being able to proceed, with a feeling of unmixed approval, to the consideration of almost every part of the Doctor's views and sentiments with regard to the main objects of his work.

The great initial superiority which the merely Christian has over the merely civil philanthropist, is well marked in the following passage.

"Our political writers, if at all honestly desirous of obtaining a fulfilment for their own speculation, should look towards the men who are fitted to expatiate among the people, in the capacity of their most acceptable and efficient moralists. It is evident that they themselves are not the best adapted for such a practical movement through a community of human beings. It is not by any topic, or any demonstration of theirs, that we can at all look for a general welcome and admittance amongst families. Let one of their number, for example, go forth with the argument of Malthus, or any other of the lessons of political economy, and that, for the purpose of enlightening the practice and observation of his neighbourhood. The very first reception that he met with would, in all likelihood, check the further progress of this moral and benevolent adventure, and stamp upon it all the folly, and all the fruitlessness of Quixotism. People would laugh, or wonder, or be offended, and a sense of the utterly ridiculous, would soon attach itself to this expedition, and lead him to abandon it. Now, herein lies the great initial superiority which the merely Christian has over the merely civil philanthropist. He is armed with a topic of ready and pertinent introduction, with which he may go round a population, and come into close and extensive contact with all the families. Let his errand be connected with religion, and even though a very obscure, and wholly unsanctioned individual, he may enter within the precincts of nearly every household, and not meet with one act of rudeness or resistance during the whole of his progress. Should he only, for example, invite their young to his sabbath-school, he, with this for his professed object, would find himself in possession of a passport upon which, and more especially among the common ranks of society, he might step into almost every dwelling-place—and engage the inmates in conversations of piety—and leave, at least, the sensations of cordiality and gratitude behind him—and pave the way for successive applications of the same influence—and secure this acknowledgment in favour of his subject, that it is worthy of being proposed on the one side, and worthy of being entertained, and patiently listened to, on the other. It is not of his final success that we are now speaking. It is of his advantageous outset. It is of that wide and effectual door of access to the population, which the Christian philanthropist has, and which the civil philanthropist has not—and from which it follows, that if the lessons of the former are at all fitted to induce a habit favourable to the objects of the latter, the economist who under-rates the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the zeal of its devoted labourers, is deposing from their rightful estimation, the best auxiliaries of his cause." (P. 10—12.)

Such is the true state of the case. In this warfare, charity, persevering kindness, Christian benevolence, are the only effectual weapons. Nor, though the results of secular benefit and improvement may be expected to follow the efforts of

such labourers, need these be made the object, nor indeed ought they to be.

"It would save a world of misconception, were it distinctly kept in mind that, for the purpose of giving effect to the lessons of the economist, it is not necessary for him who labours in the gospel-vineyard either to teach, or even so much as to understand, these lessons. Let him singly confine himself to his own strict and peculiar business—let him labour for immortality alone—let his single aim be to convert and to Christianise, and, as the result of prayer and exertion, to succeed in depositing with some, the faith of the New Testament, so as that they shall hold forth to the esteem and the imitation of many, the virtues of the New Testament—and he does more for the civil and economical well-being of his neighbourhood, than he ever could do by the influence of all secular demonstration. Let his desire and his devotedness be exclusively toward the life that is to come, and without borrowing one argument from the interest of the life that now is, will he do more to bless and to adorn its condition, than can be done by all the other efforts of patriotism and philosophy put together. It were worse than ridiculous, and it most assuredly is not requisite for him to become the champion of any economic theory, with the principles of which he should constantly be infusing either his pulpit or his parochial ministrations. His office may be upheld in the entire aspect of its sacredness—and the main desire and prayer of his heart toward God, in behalf of his brethren, may be that they should be saved—and the engrossment of his mind with the one thing needful, may be as complete as was that of the Apostle, who determined to know nothing among his hearers, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified—and yet, such is the fulness of the blessing of the gospel with which he is fraught, that while he renders the best possible service to the converts whom, under the Spirit of God, he has gained to its cause; he also, in the person of these converts, renders the best possible contribution to the temporal good of society. It is enough, that they have been rescued from the dominion of sensuality;—it is enough that they have become the disciples of that book, which, while it teaches them to be fervent in spirit, teaches them also to be not slothful in business;—it is enough that the Christian faith has been formed with such power in their hearts, as to bring out the Christian morals into visible exemplification upon their history;—it is enough that the principle within them, if it do not propagate its own likeness in others, can, at least, like the salt to which they have been compared, season a whole vicinity with many of its kindred and secondary attributes. There is not a more familiar exhibition in humble life than that alliance, in virtue of which a Christian family is almost always sure to be a well-conditioned family. And yet its members are utterly unversant either in the maxims or in the speculations of political science." (P. 12—14.)

The conclusion of this part of the subject is well worth the reader's attention.

"Let me finish my observations on this part of the subject, with

adverting to the way in which the re-action of a people's turbulence is ever sure to follow the neglect of a people's christianity—how, of all modes of intolerance, that intolerance of irreligion, which denounces the faith of the New Testament as fanaticism, brings, in its train, the most woful forfeiture of all civil and all political advantages; insomuch, that the deadliest enemy of our state, is not what has been called a methodistical spirit among the people; but its deadliest enemy, by far, is a persecuting church, which would thwart all that is serious and evangelical in the desires of the people—and which, in so doing, tramples on those sacred accommodations that God has established between the longings of an awakened heart, and the truth that is unto salvation." (P. 17.)

If we may judge from these expressions, there must be a woful hostility to the progress both of religious truth and of moral improvement in some unworthy members of the church of Scotland.

Under the next topic of discussion, namely, the error of those Christian philanthropists who despise the political economist, the advantages of "an external machinery for the furtherance of any Christian enterprise," are very ably stated. But we pass on to the first developement of the idea of assimilating the town to the country parish.

"We hold the possibility, and we cannot doubt the advantage of assimilating a town to a country parish. We think that the same moral regimen, which, under the parochial and ecclesiastical system of Scotland, has been set up, and with so much effect, in her country parishes, may, by a few simple and attainable processes, be introduced into the most crowded of her cities, and with as signal and conspicuous an effect on the whole habit and character of their population—that the single relationship which obtains between a minister and his people in the former situation, may be kept up with all the purity and entireness of its influences in the latter situation; and be equally available to the formation of a well-conditioned peasantry; in a word, that there is no such dissimilarity between town and country, as to prevent the great national superiority of Scotland, in respect of her well-principled and well-educated people, being just as observable in Glasgow or Edinburgh, for example, as it is in the most retired of her districts, and these under the most diligent process of moral and religious cultivation. So that, while the profligacy which obtains in every crowded and concentrated mass of human beings, is looked upon by many a philanthropist as one of those helpless and irreclaimable distempers of the body politic, for which there is no remedy—do we maintain, that there are certain practicable arrangements which, under the blessing of God, will stay this growing calamity, and would, by the perseverance of a few years, land us in a purer and a better generation.

"One most essential step towards so desirable an assimilation in a large city parish, is a numerous and well-appointed agency. The

assimilation does not lie here in the external frame-work; for, in a small country parish the minister alone, or with a very few coadjutors of a small session, may bring the personal influence of his kind and christian attentions to bear upon all the families. Among the ten thousand of a city parish, this is impossible; and, therefore, what he cannot do but partially and superficially in his own person, must, if done substantially, be done in the person of others. And he, by dividing his parish into small manageable districts—and assigning one or more of his friends, in some capacity or other, to each of them—and vesting them with such a right either of superintendence or of inquiry, as will always be found to be gratefully met by the population—and so raising, as it were, a ready intermedium of communication between himself and the inhabitants of his parish, may at length attain an assimilation in point of result to a country parish, though not in the means by which he arrived at it. He can in his own person maintain at least a pretty close and habitual intercourse with the more remarkable cases; and as for the moral charm of cordial and Christian acquaintanceship, he can spread it abroad by deputation over that part of the city which has been assigned to him. In this way, an influence, long unfelt in towns, may be speedily restored to them; and they, we affirm, know nothing of this department of our nature, who are blind to the truth of the position—that out of the single elements of attention, and advice, and civility, and good-will, conveyed through the tenements of the poor, by men a little more elevated in rank than themselves, a far more purifying and even more gracious operation can be made to descend upon them, than ever will be achieved by any other of the ministrations of charity." (P. 25—27.)

In these ideas we see nothing impracticable. We apprehend, however, that a difficulty would be found in the same attempts in England, from the different character of our population. It strikes us, from what our author so confidently says of the grateful acceptance of attention, and advice, and civility by the people, that there must be some shades of difference between the character of the lower orders of the inhabitants of an English and a Scotch town. But it is undoubtedly true, too, that a Christian philanthropist, even with us, will always find enough, and more than enough, to encourage and amply reward his labours among the poor. But, if he is not the bearer of temporal relief, he must not expect that his good will and his good advice will infallibly insure him influence and a welcome

We read the following passage with pleasure, and take it to be *generally* true, even as applicable to the case of our own country.

"There is one lesson that we need not teach, for experience has already taught it, and that is, the kind influence which the mere presence of a human being has upon his fellows. Let the attention bestowed upon another, be the genuine emanation of goodwill, and there

is only one thing more to make it irresistible. The readiest way of finding access to a man's heart, is to go into his house, and there to perform the deed of kindness, or to acquit ourselves of the wonted and the looked for acknowledgment. By putting ourselves under the roof of a poor neighbour, we in a manner put ourselves under his protection—we render him for the time our superior—we throw our reception on his generosity, and we may be assured that it is a confidence which will almost never fail us. If christianity be the errand on which the movement is made, it will open the door of almost every family: and even the profane and the profligate will come to recognise the worth of that principle, which prompts the unwearied assiduity of such services. By every circuit which is made among them, there is attained a higher vantage ground of moral and spiritual influence; and, in spite of all that has been said of the ferocity of a city population, in such rounds of visitation there is none of it to be met with, even among the lowest receptacles of human worthlessness. This is the home walk in which is earned, if not a proud, at least a peaceful, popularity—the popularity of the heart—the greetings of men, who, touched even by the cheapest and easiest services of kindness, have nothing to give but their wishes of kindness back again, but, in giving these, have crowned such pious attentions with the only popularity that is worth the aspiring after—the popularity that is won in the bosom of families, and at the side of death beds." (P. 29, 30.)

On the third leading topic of discussion of Chap. I, we shall not dwell, as it seems to be written with a particular reference to the case of the clergy of Scotland: on whom, it appears, numerous secular duties connected with the secular interests of the people have been forced, and that in such overwhelming variety, that there is left to them, in many cases, little leisure for the peculiar studies and duties of their office. We are not aware that with us the evil has ever amounted to this. One passage, however, presents some such useful hints, of general importance, on the dangers which attend the desecration of the clerical character, that we are tempted to transcribe it.

" But there is one principle in human nature, which, if the system be not done away, will, in time, give a most tremendous certainty to all our predictions. It does not bear so hard on the natural indolence of man, to spend his life in bustling and miscellaneous activity, as to spend his life in meditation and prayer. The former is positively the easier course of existence. The two habits suit very ill together; and, in some individuals, there is an utter incompatibility betwixt them. But should the alternative be presented, of adopting the one habit or the other, singly, the position is unquestionable, that it were better for his ease, and health, comfort, and cheerfulness, that a man shall lend out his person to all the variety of demands for attendance, and of demands for ordinary business, which are brought to bear upon him, than that he should give up his mind to the labours of a

strenuous and sustained thoughtfulness. Now, just calculate the force of the temptation to abandon study, and to abandon scholarship, when personal comfort and the public voice both unite to lure him away from them—when the popular smile would insinuate him into such a path of employment, as, if he once enter, he must bid adieu to all the stern exercises of a contemplative solitude; and the popular frown glares upon that retirement, in which he might consecrate his best powers to the best interests of a sadly misled and miscalculating generation—when the hosannahs of the multitude cheer him on to what may be comparatively termed a life of amusement; and the condemnation both of unlettered wealth and unlettered poverty, is made to rest upon his name, should he refuse to let down the painful discipline of his mind, by frittering it all away amongst those lighter varieties of management, and of exertion, which, by the practice of our cities, are habitually laid upon him. Such a temptation must come, in time, to be irresistible; and just in proportion as it is yielded to, must there be a portion of talent withdrawn from the literature of theology. There must be a desertion of all that is fine, and exquisite, and lofty, in its contemplations. There must be a relapse from the science and the industry of a former generation. There must be a decline of theological attainments and theological authorship. There must be a yearly progress of decay and of deterioration, in this branch of our national literature. There must be a descending movement towards the tame, and the feeble, and the common-place. And thus, for the wretched eclat of getting clergy to do, with their hands, what thousands can do as well as they, may our cities come, at length, to barter away the labour of their minds, and give such a blow to theology, that, amongst men of scholarship and general cultivation, it will pass for the most languishing of the sciences." (P. 45—47.)

Perhaps the great evil to be apprehended under such circumstances, is an interruption to that minute and continual study of the Scriptures, which every minister must feel to be essential both to his spiritual health and to his professional usefulness.

Chapter the second treats of "the influence of locality in towns." The general plan of philanthropic societies, it is observed, whether for relief or for instruction, is to spread their operations over a large tract of ground. To this plan Dr. Chalmers objects; and, confining his illustrations, in the first instance, to the case of Sunday schools, undertakes to show the advantages of a more limited system; or, as he says, "to illustrate a principle of philanthropic management, for which we can find no better designation, than the influence of locality in large towns."—This principle he proceeds to develope.

"In most of the Sabbath school societies with which we are acquainted, this principle is disregarded. The teachers are indiscriminately stationed in all parts of the city, and the pupils are as indiscriminately drawn from all parts of the city. Now, what we affirm

is, that the effectiveness of each individual teacher is greatly augmented, if a definite locality be given to him; and that a number of teachers, spread over any given neighbourhood on this principle, is armed, in consequence of it, with a much higher moral power over the habits and opinions of the rising generation.

"Let a small portion of the town, with its geographical limits, be assigned to such a teacher. Let his place of instruction be within this locality, or as near as possible to its confines. Let him restrain his attentions to the children of its families, sending forth no invitations to those who are without, and encouraging, as far as it is proper, the attendance of all who are within. Under such an arrangement, he will attain a comfort and an efficiency in his work, which, with the common arrangement, is utterly unattainable. And, we farther conceive, that, if this local assignation of teachers were to become general, it would lead to far more precious and lasting consequences of good to society." (P. 54.)

The advantages of this system are of various kinds. First, those which regard the teacher.—

"He, with a select and appropriate vineyard thus lying before him, will feel himself far more powerfully urged, than when under the common arrangement, to go forth among its families. However subtle an exercise it may require from another, faithfully to analyse the effect upon his mind, he himself has only to try it, and he will soon become sensible of the strong additional interest that he acquires, in virtue of having a small and specific locality assigned to him. When the subject, on which he is to operate, thus offers itself to his contemplation, in the shape of one unbroken field, or of one entire and continuous body, it acts as a more distinct and imperative call upon him, to go out upon the enterprise. He will feel a kind of property in the families; and the very circumstance of a material limit around their habitations, serves to strengthen this impression, by furnishing to his mind a sort of association with the badges and the landmarks of property. At all events, the very visibility of the limit, by constantly leading him to perceive the length and the breadth of his task, holds out an inducement to his energies, which, however difficult to explain, will be powerfully felt and proceeded on. There is a very great difference, in respect of its practical influence, between a task that is indefinite, and a task that is clearly seen to be overtakeable. The one has the effect to paralyze; the other, to quicken exertion. It serves most essentially to spirit on his undertaking, when, by every new movement, one feels himself to be drawing sensibly nearer to the accomplishment of it—when, by every one house that he enters, he can count the lessening number before him, through which he has yet to pass with his proposals for the attendance of their children—and when, by the distinct and definite portion which is still untravelled, he is constantly reminded of what he has to do, ere that district, which he feels to be his own, is thoroughly pervaded. He can go over his families, too, with far less expense of locomotion, than under the common system of Sabbath schools; and, for the same reason, can he more fully and frequently reiterate his atten-

tions; and it will charm him onwards, to find that he is sensibly translating himself into a stricter and kinder relationship with the people of his district; and, if he have a taste for cordial intercourse with the fellows of his own nature, he will be gladdened and encouraged by his growing familiarity with them all; and thus will he turn the vicinity which he has chosen, into a home-walk of many charities; and recognized as its moral benefactor, will his kindness, and his judgment, and his Christianity, be put forth with a well-earned and well-established influence, in behalf of a grateful population." (P. 56—58.)

Another advantage of the arrangement is its effect in calling out the attendance of the taught.

"The invitation comes upon them with far greater power, when it is to attend the weekly lessons which are given out in the close vicinity of their own habitations, than where it is to attend at some distant place, where children are assembled from all quarters of the city. And the vicinity of the place of instruction to the taught is not the only point of juxtaposition which goes to secure and to perpetuate their attendance. There is also much in the juxtaposition of the taught to one another. This brings what may be called the gregarious principle into fuller play. What children will not do singly, they will do with delight and readiness in a flock. This comes powerfully to the aid of the other advantages which belong to the local system—where the teacher will not only experience a kind reception at his first outset among the families, but will find, that in the course of a very few rounds, he engages, for his scholars, not a small proportion of the young, but a great majority of those in the district. And if he just follow up each act of absence, on the part of the children, by a call of inquiry upon their parents, he will succeed in controlling them to regular and continued attendance—a habit, which, with a slight exertion of care, upon his part, may be so kept up and strengthened, as to obtain, in the little vicinage over which he presides, all the certainty of a mechanical operation." (P. 58, 59.)

There are also, thirdly, general advantages, which extend to the whole population of the district.

"That very influence which binds the teacher to the families, does, though by a looser and feebler tie, bind the families to each other. One great desideratum in large towns, is an acquaintanceship among the contiguous families. And to promote this, every arrangement in itself right, should be promoted, which brings out the in-dwellers of one vicinity to one common place of repair, and brings upon them one common ministration. We believe, that the total want of parish schools, and the total neglect of the right of parishioners, to a preference for seats in parish churches, have, in addition to a mischief of a deadlier and more direct character, withheld from our population the great, though collateral advantage that we are now insisting on. It is an advantage, which is, in a great degree, made up by the local arrangement of Sabbath-schools—where, by the next-door neighbours being supplied with one common point of reference, and their children being

led to meet in each other's houses, at one common work of preparation, and all being furnished with one common topic of simple, but heart-felt gratitude—that moral distance is somewhat alleviated, which obtains in our great cities, without any counteraction whatever, even among those living under the same roof, and which powerfully contributes, among other causes, to stamp a louring and unsocial aspect, on a city population." (P. 59, 60.)

With these advantages are contrasted the defects of the ordinary system.

"The common system of Sabbath-schooling, has none of these advantages. The families that furnish children to the same teacher, may lie at a wide physical distance from each other; and it is therefore seldom that he holds any week-day intercourse at all, with the few and scattered houses, out of which his scholars repair to him—or that he maintains any common understanding with the parents about their young—or that he joins his guardianship with theirs, in calling the absentees to account for their acts of non-attendance—or that he forms acquaintance with them upon that most gratifying and welcome of all intimations, that their children are doing well. The close and oft-repeated influences, in virtue of which, a local teacher may incorporate his school, with the habit of all the families that are allotted to him, are wanting to the general teacher. The latter may still, however, head a most numerous and respectable school; but this is more in virtue of a pre-existent desire for Christian instruction, than of any desire which he himself has excited among the families. Attendance upon a general teacher, in spite of distance and other disadvantages, generally argues, and is indeed the fruit of a certain value and pre-disposition for the lessons of Christianity. Attendance on a local teacher, is oftener the fruit, not of an original, but of a communicated taste for his instructions. It is a produce of his own gathering. It is the result, not of a spontaneous, but of a derived movement, to which he himself gave the primary impulse, by going aggressively forth upon a given territory; and which he perpetuates and keeps up by his frequent calls, and his unremitting vigilance, and his oft-repeated applications, brought to bear upon one and the same neighbourhood." (P. 60, 61.)

We have not scrupled to be large in our extracts, as they contain the developement of the author's views. On the plan which overlooks the spiritual wants of an immediate vicinity, to occupy itself with more remote attentions, it is evident that we must be constantly making up our minds to pass over much evil that is before our eyes, and fortifying our feelings against the sense of it. The result must be, a fatal deadness to the existence of moral evil, which will not fail, in the end, to paralyze our remote, as well as our more domestic exertions. In the latter part of the last extract, Dr. Chalmers begins to speak on a very important subject, to which he more than once recurs, namely, the necessity of *aggressive* exertions in the warfare of Christian benevolence. The subject is thus illustrated.

" The question is, how shall the influence of a Sabbath school be brought most readily and most abundantly into contact with their families? Which of the two parties, the teacher or those to be taught, should make the first advances to such an approximation? To meet this question, let it ever be remembered, that there is a wide and a mighty difference between the wants of our physical, and those of our moral and spiritual nature. In proportion to our want of food is our desire for food; but it is not so with our want of knowledge, or virtue, or religion. The more destitute we are of these last, the more dead we are as to any inclination for them. A general system of Sabbath schooling may attract towards it all the predisposition that there is for Christian instruction, and yet leave the majority as untouched and as unawakened as it found them. In moving through the lanes and the recesses of a long-neglected population, will it be found of the fearful multitude, that not only is their acquaintance with the Gospel extinguished, but their wish to obtain an acquaintance with it is also extinguished. They not only have no righteousness, but they have no hungering nor thirsting after it. A general teacher may draw some kindred particles out of this assemblage. He may bring around him such families as are of a homogeneous quality with himself. Those purer ingredients of the mass, which retain so much of the etherial character as to have an etherial tendency, may move towards a place of central and congenial attraction, though at a considerable distance from them; and even though, in so doing, they have to come separately out from that overwhelming admixture with which they are encompassed. But the bulky sediment remains untouched and stationary; and, by its power of assimilation, too, is all the while adding to its own magnitude. And thus it is both a possible thing that schools may multiply, under a general system, and that out of the resources of a mighty population, an overflowing attendance may be afforded to each of them, while an humble fraction of the whole is all that is overtaken; and below the goodly superficies of a great apparent stir and activity, may an unseen structure of baser materials deepen and accumulate underneath, so as to furnish a solution of the fact, that with an increase of Christian exertion amongst us, there should, at one and the same time, be an increase of heathenism." (P. 61—63.)

Christianity may hold her ground, indeed, while she limits herself to this stationary system. But it is clear that she can never gain her complete and destined triumph till she has moved out her forces to the attack.

" The doings to which we have adverted, may bear, with a kind of magnetic influence, on all that is kindred in character to their own design and their own principle. They may communicate a movement to the minority who will, but leave still and motionless the majority who will not. Whole streets and whole departments may be nearly untouched by them. There is the firm and the obstinate growth of a sedentary corruption, which will require to be more actively assailed. It is certainly cheering to count the positive numbers on the side of Christianity; but, beyond the ken of ordinary notice, there is an out-

numbering both on the side of weekly profligacy, and of Sabbath profanation. There is room enough for apparent Christianity, and real corruption, to be gaining ground together, each in their respective territories; and the delusion is, that, while many are rejoicing in the symptoms of our country's reformation, the country itself may be ripening for some awful crisis, by which to mark, in characters of vengeance, the consummation of its guilt.

"In these circumstances do we know of no expedient, by which this woful degeneracy can be arrested and recalled, but an actual search and entry upon the territory of wickedness. A mere signal of invitation is not enough. In reference to the great majority, and in reference to the most needful, this were as powerless as was the bidding to the marriage-feast of the parable. We must have recourse, at last, to the final expedient that was adopted on that occasion; or, in other words, go out to the streets and the highways, and by every fair measure of moral, and personal, and friendly application, compel the multitude to come in. We must do with the near what we are doing with the distant world. We do not expect to Christianise the latter, by messages of entreaty, from the regions of Paganism; but we send our messages to them. Neither do we give a roving commission to the bearers, but assign to each of them their respective station in that field, which is the world. And we most assuredly need not expect to Christianise any city of nominal Christendom, by waiting the demand of its various districts, for religious instruction, and acting upon the demands as they arrive. There must just be as aggressive a movement in the one case as in the other. There is not the same physical distance, but there is nearly the same moral distance, to be described with both; and they who traverse this distance, though without one mile of locomotion to the place of their labour, do, in effect, maintain the character, and fulfil the duty of missionaries." (P. 66, 67.)

There is great justice in this last observation. Neither do we consider

"How utterly alienated the great majority of our young are from all Christian opportunities; and that there is an unobserved heathenism amongst us, which stands as much in need of being aggressively entered upon from without, as the heathenism of antiquity stood in need of apostles. Such is the lack of churches, and such is the dreary and unprovided extent of our city parishes, that the majority of our people may be said to live in a state of excommunication from all the privileges of a Christian land." (P. 79.)

When we hear these rumours of aggressive efforts on the part of christianity, they awaken us to some encouraging reflections. They direct our thoughts to those times of which it is said, "then look up, and lift up your heads: for your redemption draweth nigh." The page of prophecy does certainly authorize us to look for extraordinary and aggressive exertions on the part of the Christian church, as one prognostic of her final triumph, and a token of the approaching consummation of all

things. We have seen her, at earlier periods of her history, assailed, and acting on the defensive. But as we advance, we find her affairs assuming a new character. It is now her enemies' turn to be attacked. This is what we are to expect at eventime. This is what we are to look for at that eventful period, when the affairs of this world are to draw towards their consummation. She will at length move out her forces to the attack. From morning to evening her foes continue their assaults; and she repulses them indeed, but can do little more. But at length, as the shades of night draw on, their own efforts begin to exhaust them. They return perhaps to the charge, but they return reluctant and disheartened. Discomfited in all their former onsets, baffled in every stratagem, they begin to feel, that, after all their efforts, the day is not to be theirs. Dismal forebodings of defeat and rout are already whispered through their ranks, and their line wavers as it advances. Each attack becomes more feeble than the last, and is repulsed with greater ease. Till at length, shattered, breathless, and bewildered, they pause from farther efforts, and hover between despair and flight. But then comes their turn to be attacked. Then comes the time for moving out against them. The Leader against whom they have been directing all their forces, and whose lines they have attempted to shake in vain, now advances in his turn upon them, with every banner of his host unfurled, and with all the thunders of his artillery awakened. Vain is their resistance. He bears all before him. Flight and terror succeed. The hour of victory and of vengeance is come. And nothing is heard throughout the night, but the shouts, the groans, the discord, and the havoc of the pursuit.

But, be it well remembered, that we are forewarned of no desolation except of the powers of ignorance and darkness, no vengeance except against the enemies and the opposers of what is good. Of a far different character are the conquests of the Prince of Peace, and of the earthly warrior. He destroys not that which is good. He only destroys that which is itself a source of evil and destruction. Great will be the terror of that day. But it will be terror only to the sons of terror and violence.

With respect to the local system, a trial is recommended as the only thing necessary to evince its excellence.

"Any one, at most, or two philanthropists, may set forth upon such an experiment. They will soon, in the course of their inquiries, be enabled to verify the actual state of our city families, and, at the same time, their openness to the influence of a pervading operation. Let them, for this purpose, make their actual entrance upon a district which they have previously chalked out as the ground of their benevolent

enterprise; and it were better, that it should be in some poor and neglected part of the city. Let the one introduce the other to every family; and on the simple errand that he meant to set up a Sabbath-school, to be just at hand, and for the vicinity around him. With no other manner than that which Christian kindness would dictate, and just such questions as are consistent with the respect which every human being should entertain for another, we promise him, not merely a civil, but a cordial reception in almost every house, and a discreet answer to all his inquiries. The first thing which, in all likelihood, will meet his observation, is the mighty reminder of good that is left for him to do, amid the number and exertion of the general Sabbath-schools that are on every side of him. It may be otherwise in some few accidental districts. But, speaking generally, he will assemble a sufficient school out of a population of three hundred. Parents of all characters will accept his proposition with gratitude. And if, on his first meeting with their children in some apartment of the district, he should be disappointed by the non-attendance of some whom he was counting on, a few calls of inquiry on the subject, will generally, at length, secure the point of their attendance; and by following up every case of absence with a week-day inquiry at the parents, he will secure the regularity of it; and thus may he bring his moral and personal influence into contact with their young, for a few hours of every recurring Sabbath; and also keep up an influence through the whole week, by the circulation of books from a small library attached to his institution. It will prove a mighty accession to the good that he is doing, if he hold frequent intercourse with the families. Their kindness and his enjoyment will grow with the growth of their mutual acquaintanceship. And should he, in the spirit of a zealous philanthropy, resolve to cultivate the district as his own—should he fill up every opening to usefulness which occurs in it—should he mix consideration with sympathy—and, in all his services and all his distributions, bear a respect to their characters as well as to their comfort—we cannot confidently say, that he will turn many from Satan unto God, but he will extinguish many an element, both of moral and political disorder.

"A few months of perseverance will thoroughly engage him in the cause that he has undertaken. He will feel a comfort in this style of philanthropy, which he does not feel in the bustle and distraction of manifold societies. He will enjoy both the unity and the effectiveness of his doings. And, instead of pacing, as he does now, among dull committees, and perplexing himself among the questions of a large and laborious superintendence, will he expatiate, without incumbrance, upon his own chosen field, and rejoice in putting forth his immediate hand on the work of reclaiming it from that neglected waste of ignorance and improvidence by which it is surrounded." (P. 67—70.)

Dr. Chalmers is very decided in his condemnation of that generalising system, which scorns to limit itself to any restricted scheme of usefulness. There is, he observes, a hindrance to his plans in the spirit of the times.

"The truth is, that a task so isolated as that which we are now

prescribing, does not suit with the present rage for generalising. There is an appetite for designs of magnificence. There is an impatience of every thing short of a universal scheme, leading to a universal result. Nothing will serve but a mighty organization, with a promise of mighty consequences; and, let any single person be infected with this spirit, and he may decline from the work of a single court or lane in a city, as an object far too limited for his contemplation. He may like to share, with others, in the enterprise of subordinating a whole city to the power of some great and combined operation. And we may often have to deliver a man from this ambitious tendency ere we can prevail upon him to sit humbly and perseveringly down to his task—ere we can lead him to forget the whole, and practically give himself to one of its particulars—ere we can satisfy him, that, should he moralize one district of three hundred people, he will not have lived in vain—ere we can get him to pervade his locality, and quit his speculation." (P. 71, 72.)

"There is an impatience on the part of many a raw and sanguine philanthropist for doing something great; and, akin to this, there is an impatience for doing that great thing speedily. They spurn the condition of drivelling amongst littles; and unless there be a redeeming magnificence in the whole operation, of which they bear a part, are there some who could not be satisfied with a humble and detached allotment in the great vineyard of human usefulness."...."Not that we at all admire the narrowness of an unsocial spirit, which cares for nothing beyond the confines of its own territory. It is simply, that we hold it to be bad moral tactics thus to extend the field of management—thus to bring a whole city, or a whole province, under one unwieldy jurisdiction—thus to weaken, by dispersion, the interest which we think is far more vivid and effective when concentrated upon one given locality—thus to exchange the kindliness of a small, appropriate home for the cold lustre of a wider and more public management—thus to throw ourselves abroad, over an expanse of superficiality, instead of thoroughly pervading and filling up each of its subordinate sections." (P. 73, 74.)

The fact is, that, comparatively speaking, there are few philanthropists who have any relish for this more circumscribed field of exertion:—few who can be persuaded "to pervade their locality, and quit their speculation." One thing is, at the same time, to be remembered, that where this chastened spirit does exist, its natural effect must be to withdraw the philanthropist from the glare of publicity, and to employ him in the shade of unseen and humble usefulness. And therefore there may be much good going on in a quiet way in bye-streets, in villages, in families, in little well-managed sunday-schools, of which we know nothing. Certain it is, however, that many, even among those who are bent upon doing good, desire to skim the cream of benevolence, to crop the flowers of philanthropy, to take to themselves all that is splendid, and conspicu-

ous, and easy, and elegant in beneficence, and to leave to others the drudgery of detail. We fear that much of the scheming, the contriving, the writing of books upon the poor laws, the recommendation of measures, of which we now hear so much, arises, though well meant, out of a dislike and a dread to go right up to the evil, to grapple with it, and to set to work upon it. We must observe, too, that the spirit which aspires to do great things in the way of religious and moral improvement by its own management, without being contented to act in partnership, and, if need be, in a subordinate capacity, is always an unchristian spirit. It is a spirit which "loves to have the pre-eminence." It betrays a separative, an independent, a pharisaical feeling. It is utterly opposed to the feeling of Christian communion. It will not submit to the thought of working as one of a set—but must carve out its work for itself, and do it by itself—and not be controlled or interfered with. Such a spirit may, in some of its aspects, be called noble. But it is any thing but Christian.

This subject is well wound up by Dr. Chalmers at the end of the chapter. The result, he says, of recovering the country from vice and violence,

——"will, at length, be arrived at, not by the working of one mighty organization, for the achievement of great things, but by the accumulation of small things—not by men, whose taste it is to contemplate what is splendid in philanthropy, but by men whose practical talent it is to do what is substantial in philanthropy—not by men who eye, with imaginative transport, the broad and boundless expanse of humanity, but by men, who can work in drudgery and in detail, at the separate portions of it. But, before we can sit down and be satisfied with doing thoroughly and well, that which lies within the compass of our strength, there must be a conquest over the pride of our nature—there must be a calling in of the fancy, from those specious generalities which have lured so many from the path of sober and productive exertion—we must resign the glory of devising a magnificent whole, and count it enough to have rendered, in our narrow sphere, and in our little day, the contribution of a part to the good of human society. The whole, it is only for Him to contemplate fully, whose agents we are, and who assigns a portion of usefulness to each severally, as he will. It is our part to follow the openings of his Providence, and to do, with our might, that work which he hath evidently put into our hands. Any great moral or economical change in the state of a country, is not the achievement of one single man, but the achievement of many; and though one man walking in the loftiness of his heart, might like to engross all the fame of it, it will remain an impotent speculation, unless thousands come forward to share among them all the fatigue of it. It is not to the labour of those who are universalists in science, that she stands indebted for her present solidity, or her present elevation, but to the separate labours of many—

each occupying his own little field, and heaping, on the basis of former acquisitions, his own distinct and peculiar offering. And it is just so in philanthropy. The spirit of it has gone marvellously abroad amongst us of late years; but still clouded and misled by the bewildering glare which the fancy of ambitious man is apt to throw around his own undertakings. He would be the sole creator of a magnificent erection, rather than a humble contributor to it, among a thousand more, each as necessary and important as himself. And yet, would he only resign his speculations, and give himself to the execution of a task, to which his own personal faculties were adequate, he would meet with much to compensate the loss of those splendid delusions, which have hitherto engrossed him. There would be less of the glare of publicity; but there would be more of the kindliness of a quiet and sheltered home. He would not, by his own solitary strength, advance the little stone into a great mountain, but the worth and the efficacy of his labours will be sure to recommend them to the imitation of many—and the good work will spread, by example, from one individual, and from one district to another—and, though he may be lost to observation, in the growing magnitude of the operations which surround him, yet will he rejoice even in his very insignificance, as the befitting condition for one to occupy, among the many millions of the species to which he belongs—and it will be enough for him that he has added one part, however small, to that great achievement, which can only be completed by the exertions of an innumerable multitude—and the fruit of which is to fill the whole earth." (P. 86—88.)

With these sentiments, in the main, we cordially agree. Yet we advocate the exertions of those societies which go to work upon a larger scale, and with more extended views *. Nor is it quite clear to us that Dr. Chalmers has any intention of condemning them. The fact is, that each system has its proper walk of usefulness, and each is capable of doing a description of good which the other cannot do. As to taking in the whole world, the eye of Christian philanthropy cannot possibly take in less. And we believe it will generally be found, that those who are most zealous in the promotion of those extensive plans of beneficence, which comprehend the heathen and the alien, will be found to be the very persons who are the most active in their domestic walks of duty—the very persons, the fruit of whose labours is the most conspicuous in their neighbourhoods, their connexions, their households. The perfection of Christian philanthropy seems to consist in this:—to rejoice in these comprehensive schemes—to contribute to them—to bear a part in them; but then, not to stand apart from local details—not to neglect that walk of charity which begins at home; to have at heart the salvation of the heathen on the opposite side of

* Such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Bible Society, and missionary and general school-societies.

the way, as well as of the heathen of another climate; and to labour for the circulation of the Bible in English as well as in Arabic. The true Christian, we say, will labour for both. He that is indifferent to the more remote, will seldom be very zealous for the nearer object.

The aggressive and more local plan of Dr. Chalmers appears to have been attended in some particular instances where it has been tried, with results which offer the fairest encouragement for its more extensive adoption.

"We allude to the Saltmarket Sabbath School Society. The field of its operations takes in both sides of the street, with the deep, and narrow, and numerous lanes which branch off from them. It bears a population of 3624; and to cultivate this extent there were only four individuals, at the outset of the undertaking, who, instead of spreading themselves over the whole, appropriated each a small locality, and waited for more agents, ere they proceeded to lay out the remainder." —"In a few months did this little association both complete its numbers, and thoroughly allocate and pervade the whole ground of its projected operations. It has now opened fourteen schools, and provided them with teachers. The number of scholars is 420, amounting to more than a ninth of the whole population. This is a very full proportion indeed; for, on pretty extensive surveys, it is found, that the whole number of children, from the age of six to fifteen, comes to about one-fifth of the population. Certain it is, that all the general societies in previous operation had brought out but a very slender fraction, indeed, of the number brought out by this local and pervading society; that many a crowded haunt of this district was as completely untouched by the antecedent methods, as are the families in the wilds of Tartary; that hundreds of young, never in church, and without one religious observation to mark and to separate their Sabbath from the other days of the week, have thus been brought within an atmosphere, which they now breathe for the first time in their existence; that, with a small collection of books attached to each humble seminary, there is a reading of the purest and most impressive character in full circulation amongst both the parents and the children who belong to it; and, what is not the least important effect of all, that by the frequent recurrence of week-day visitations, there is both a Christian and a civilizing influence sent forth upon a whole neighbourhood, and a thousand nameless cordialities are constantly issuing out of the patriarchal relationship, which has thus been formed between a man of worth, and so many outcast and neglected families." (P. 77, 78.)

The success, it appears, in this instance, was remarkable.

"Certain it is, that we never witnessed so rapid a cultivation; and when, on visiting the school a few months after its establishment, we beheld the dress and decency of their exterior, and marked the general propriety of their manners, and observed the feeling that was evident in the replies of some, and the talent and promptitude that shone forth in the replies of many; when, along with all this, we were made

to rejoice in the greetings of the assembled parentage, and shared their triumph and satisfaction in the proficiency of their own offspring, whom, poor as they were, they, out of their own unaided resources, had so respectably arrayed: when we further reflected, that the living scene before us was not made up of the scantlings of a whole city, but was formed by the compact population of one small but thoroughly explored vicinage; with our eyes open to what has thus been done by the moral force of care and kindness on the part of one individual, we could not miss the inference, that, with a right distribution, it was in the power of a number of individuals to throw another aspect over the habit and character of another generation." (P. 80.)

" The number of scholars from this part of the town, in attendance upon the general schools, at the erection of this society, was 128, being greatly less than a third of the number who attend the present schools. But the most cheering part of the whole operation was the great and immediate effect of the local interest, in calling out a well-qualified agency for the work of this association. It consists of fourteen teachers, ten of whom were never employed in this capacity before; and who were allured to the enterprise by the peculiar motives and facilities which were attached to it. In other words, to multiply and extend the good which has been done on this portion of the territory, we do not need to starve any one department of public usefulness that is now in operation. In answer to the prayers and the pains of Christians will labourers come forth as the work of the harvest is entered upon, and an influence, which never could have emanated from any one fountain of general superintendence, will spread itself among the contiguous districts by a mere process of distinct and successive imitations." (P. 82, 83.)

There is one instance more, which we are sure our readers will thank us for transcribing.

" Strong, however, as our partialities are for the Saltmarket Society, we are not sure but that we feel a still greater interest in the solitary, yet eminently successful, attempt of a gentleman in our city, whose name, from motives of delicacy, we forbear to mention. It is now about a year and a half ago since he assumed a district to himself, which he resolved to cultivate on the system of local philanthropy. We believe that, in respect of the rank and condition of those who live in it, it is greatly beneath the average of Glasgow: it comprises a population of 996; whom he, in the first instance, most thoroughly surveyed, and all of whom, we are confident, he has now most thoroughly attached, and that by a series of the most friendly and enlightened services. He has found room, within its limits, for four Sabbath-schools, which he provided with teachers of his own selecting, and who, like himself, labour, of course, gratuitously in the cause; as, indeed, we believe, do all the other Sabbath teachers in the city. The scholars amount to 110, which is also in very full proportion to the number of inhabitants. He has also instituted a savings bank, which takes in deposits only from those who live, and from those who work, within the bounds of this little territory. With this last ex-

tension of his plan, the bank may embrace a population of 1200; and, from its commencement, in December 19th, 1818, to December 18th, 1819, the whole sum deposited is 235*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* During the twelve-month sixty families of this small district have opened their accounts with the bank, and received an impulse from it, on the side of economy and foresight. This, in such a year, proves what might be made of the neglected capabilities of our labouring classes. Any general savings bank for the town at large would not have called out one-tenth of this sum, from the obscure department which this gentleman occupies, and which, with the doings and the devices of a most judicious benevolence, he is so fast rescuing from all the miseries which attach to a crowded population. We hold this to be one of the most signal triumphs of locality. The sum deposited in this local bank is about proportional to the sum of 30,000*l.* for the town and suburbs of Glasgow, and forms another proof, among the many others which multiply around us, of the superiority, in point of effect, which a small and, at the same time, distinct and unfettered management holds over a wide and ambitious superintendence." (P. 84—86.)

There is one passage in this second chapter, with which, as Englishmen and churchmen, we felt a little displeased.

" There is one district, consisting of 264 people, which furnishes no less than 50 pupils; and, before they are admitted, they must previously be able to read the New Testament. *For the object of such institutions is greatly different from their general object in England. It is not to teach them the reading of the Scriptures; but to exercise their memory, and judgment, and conscience, on the lessons of Scripture. The Sabbath schools of* our country *do not supersede*, but stimulate the processes of week-day education." (P. 81, 82.)

We only wish we could show Dr. Chalmers some of the books that are in common use in our Sunday schools. We leave dissenters to answer for themselves. But we only wish we could show him the Scripture histories,—and the little hymn book and broken catechism which are now lying before us as we are writing. We only wish we could show him those two valuable little productions of the Rev. Basil Wood, (that true childrens' friend,) which the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge has just placed upon its lists. We reckon that there are about ten or a dozen small publications now in very general use in our schools, which are bearing a great share in the work of raising the moral and intellectual character of the next generation above the present. We are perfectly persuaded that there is no artifice, no ingenious device, no scheme that can possibly be contrived for making our children remember, and think, and feel, which is not appointed to be employed in a very large portion of our Sunday schools. There may in some cases be a want of spirit or a want of power in the individuals charged with their management. But as to its not being made

an *object* to exercise the memory, the judgment, and the conscience of the children; why, the very forms in the school-room of our parish church would rise up an-end, and repel the charge with indignation. But enough. We forgive this nationality, and shall pass on to chapter the third.

In chapter the third, the principle of locality in towns is applied to the work of a Christian minister. Under this head, Dr. Chalmers repeats and expands with great additional effect in favour of a church-establishment, an argument before used by him.

"It is perhaps the best among all our more general arguments for a religious establishment in a country, that the spontaneous demand of human beings for religion, is far short of the actual interest which they have in it. This is not so, with their demand for food or raiment, or any article which ministers to the necessities of our physical nature. The more destitute we are of these articles, the greater is our desire after them. In every case, where the want of any thing serves to whet our appetite, instead of weakening it, the supply of that thing may be left, with all safety, to the native and powerful demand for it, among the people themselves. The sensation of hunger is a sufficient guarantee for there being as many bakers in a country, as it is good and necessary for the country to have, without any national establishment of bakers. This order of men will come forth, in number enough, at the mere bidding of the people; and it never can be for want of them, that society will languish under the want of aliment for the human body....

"But the case is widely different, when the appetite for any good is short of the degree in which that good is useful or necessary; and, above all, when just in proportion to our want of it, is the decay of our appetite towards it. Now this is, generally speaking, the case with religious instruction. The less we have of it, the less we desire to have of it. It is not with the aliment of the soul, as it is with the aliment of the body. The latter will be sought after; the former must be offered to a people, whose spiritual appetite is in a state of dormancy, and with whom it is just as necessary to create a hunger, as it is to minister a positive supply. In these circumstances, it were vain to wait for any original movement on the part of the receivers. It must be made on the part of the dispensers." (P. 89, 90.)

On these principles, all the arguments in favour of an obtrusive or aggressive system, are arguments in favour of an establishment.

"In order that men may become Christians, there must either be an obtruding of Christianity on the notice of the people, or the people must be waited for, till they move themselves in quest of Christianity. We apprehend that the former, or what may be called the aggressive way of it, is the most effectual. Nature does not go forth in search of Christianity, but Christianity goes forth to knock at the door of nature, and, if possible, awaken her out of her sluggishness. This

was the way of it at its first promulgation. It is the way of it in every missionary enterprise. And seeing, that the disinclination of the human heart to entertain the overtures of the gospel, forms a mightier obstacle to its reception among men, than all the oceans and continents which missionaries have to traverse, there ought to be a series of aggressive measures in behalf of Christianity, carried on from one age to another, in every clime and country of Christendom. To wait till the people shall stir so effectually, as that places of worship shall be built by them, and the maintenance of teachers shall be provided by them, and that, abundantly enough for all the moral and spiritual necessities of our nation, is very like a reversal of the principle on which Christianity was first introduced amongst us, and on which, we apprehend, Christianity must still be upheld amongst us. We, therefore, hold it to be wise, in every Christian government, to meet the people with a ready-made apparatus of Christian education. It is like a constant and successive going forth amongst them with those lessons which they never would have sought after, through all the sacrifices that they else must have had to make, and all the obstacles that they else must have overcome. It is in order to perpetuate the religion of the people, keeping up the same aggressiveness of operation, which first originated the religion of the people. We are aware that itinerancy is an aggressive operation, and that dissenters do itinerate. But we mistake if, in this way, there is more of the gospel brought into contact with the inhabitants of our country, throughout the space of a year, than is heard on every single Sabbath within the gale of its two establishments. This is not fastening the contempt of insignificance on dissenters..... It is a mere question of moral and spiritual tactics, which we are at present engaged with." (P. 93—95.)

"People will not be drawn in such abundance to Christianity, by a mere process of attraction, as Christianity can be made to radiate upon them, by a process of emanation. We have not yet heard of any dissenting minister in towns, who assumed to himself a locality for the purpose of its moral and religious cultivation. We think that it would greatly add to the power of his ministration, if he did so. But, as the case stands, his pulpit operates on the neighbourhood, chiefly as a centre of attraction; and the people move, in the first instance, towards him, instead of him, in the first instance, going forth among the people." (P. 101.)

Thus does our author, with great vigour of reasoning, and some inaccuracy of language, settle the question of a religious establishment over the country at large. Did it fall within our purpose so far to extend our extracts, we might shew that he is by no means an ungenerous enemy of Dissenters, or backward to allow them that share of merit which they may justly claim. The grand desideratum, with respect to an establishment, will always be, that it should be effectual to those ends for which it is ordained. If an establishment be the only centre from which a steady and a constant light can radiate on the community what will be the consequence, if it fail in respect to these grand

purposes, for which it is so peculiarly and so exclusively adapted? If the light that is in us be darkness, how great will be that darkness!

Dr. Chalmers next proceeds to argue for the especial advantages of a religious establishment in towns; and, while on this subject, extends the principle of locality to churches, which he had before applied only to Sunday schools.

"In our last chapter, we made a comparison between local and general Sabbath schools. Now, a church is, or easily might be, in effect, a local Sabbath school. Its district is, or ought to be, the parish with which it stands nominally associated, and its sitters ought to be the inhabitants of that parish. The established ministers of a large town should be enabled each to concentrate the full influence of his character and office, on his own distinct and separate portion of the whole territory. Any thing that can disturb the reiteration of his attentions to the same local quarter of the city, should be resisted as a detraction from his real usefulness. And what we affirm, is, that the united influence of the exertions of all the clergy, when generalised and extended over the town, will never nearly amount to the sum of their separate influences, when each is permitted to give the whole both of his Sabbath and week-day labour to the people of his own geographical vineyard." (P. 95, 96.)

The arguments here also are of two kinds, as in the case of the Sunday schools—those which relate to the teacher, and those which relate to his people.

"In the first place, then, it is not so likely that a minister will go forth on his share of the population, when spread at random over the whole city, as when they lie within the limits of a space that is overtakeable. He feels an incitement to move in the latter way of it, which he does not feel when his attentions are dispersed over a wide and bewildering generality. He, under the one arrangement, may have rare, and rapid, and transient intercourse with the individuals of a diffused multitude; but this can never ripen into solid acquaintanceship with more than a very few. Under the other arrangement, he may, at a greatly less expense, attain to terms of confidence with some, and of familiarity with many; and it would add prodigiously to this operation, were his hearers, on the Sabbath, also his parochial acquaintances through the week. By this simple expedient alone, he would attain such an establishment of himself in his parish, in a single month, as he will not otherwise reach, but by the labour and assiduity of years. The very consciousness that, in a certain quarter of the city, lay the great body of his congregation, would be enough to assure him of a welcome there, and a friendship there, that would ever be inclining his footsteps to his parish, as the fittest scene of promise and of preparation for all his enterprises; and he would soon find that the business of the Sabbath, and the business of the week, had a most wholesome, reciprocal influence the one upon the other." (P. 97.)

"But the second influence of locality in this matter is perhaps of

greater efficacy still." . . . " It is incalculable how much this last is promoted, by the mere juxta-position of the people to one another. There is a great deal more than perhaps can be brought out by a mere verbal demonstration, in a number of contiguous families, all related by one tie to the same place of worship, and the same minister. It would go to revive a feeling, which is now nearly obliterated in towns, whereby the house which a man occupies should be connected, in his mind, with the parish in which it is situated, and an ecclesiastical relationship be recognized with the clergyman of the parish. In these circumstances, where there was no interference of principle, and no personal disapprobation of the clergyman, attendance upon the parish church would at length pass into one of the habitual and established proprieties of every little vicinage. Old families would keep it up, and new families would fall into it; and the demand for seats, instead of slackening under such an arrangement, would become more intense every year, so as to form a distinct call for more churches, whenever they were called for by the exigencies of a growing population." (P. 98, 99.)

Dr. Chalmers' views respecting the advantages of his principle of locality, are equally captivating in theory, whether applied to the case of schools or of churches. But we apprehend that their practical application, where they are not already in operation, will be found far easier in the former case than in the latter. In both, a mechanism is requisite; but in the one case it is light, in the other ponderous. In the one case it is easily formed, in the other slowly put together. In the one case it may readily be shifted with a fluctuating population, in the other it cannot easily be transferred from one locality to another. Whilst our country offers many lamentable instances of population without church-room, it offers others of church-room without population. However, we are not anxious to start objections. As far as Dr. Chalmers' views are attainable, they are undoubtedly good; and the proper course, when that is the case, is not to magnify difficulties, but to contribute what we can towards their removal. We shall therefore permit the Doctor again to speak for himself.

" The pulpit of an established minister may, like a local Sabbath school, be turned into a centre of emanation; instead of having a merely attractive influence, which can operate only where a taste for Christianity already exists, there may, in the person of him who fills it, and in virtue of the peculiar advantages which we have just explained, go forth a pervading influence, which may be made to spread itself through every portion of the space that he occupies, and be reiterated upon it at short intervals, and with successive applications. He, and the auxiliaries with whom he stands associated, may keep up an incessant locomotion among the families, and they will scarcely meet with one solitary exception in the way of a cordial and universal welcome. This is the way in which a local teacher recruits his school

out of families that felt no moving inclination whatever towards a general teacher; and this, in effect, is the way in which a parochial clergyman, had he room and space for it, may reclaim to congregational habits, a whole multitude that have sat motionless for years, and grown most alarmingly in number, under all that churches and meeting-houses have yet done for them.

"The ideas of rest, of stillness, and stagnancy, have long been associated with an establishment. But the truth is, that they are its facilities for a busy movement of circulation over a given space, which confer upon it, in our apprehension, a mighty superiority over a mere system of dissenterism. It is true, that the movement is, in a great measure, internal; and, for this reason, it does not bear ostensibly upon it the character of a Missionary enterprise. But, surely, a Missionary object is as much fulfilled by the movement that comprehends all who are within, as by the movement that extends to all who are without. The precept of 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature,' includes an application to the outcasts at home, as well as to the outcasts abroad; and, on the very principle which inclines us to the frame-work of a Missionary Society, do we feel inclined to the frame-work of a national establishment." (P. 102, 103.)

The latter part of this chapter contains some statements, of which the object is to give an idea, with regard to Glasgow, at least, of the extent of the mischiefs which it is proposed to remedy.

"Let it be premised, that, in a country parish, the number who should be in attendance upon church, is computed at one-half of the whole population. In towns where the obstacle of distance is not to be overcome, a larger proportion than this is generally fixed upon. We think it, however, overrated at two-thirds, and shall therefore assign the intermediate fraction of five-eighths, as the ratio which the church-going inhabitants of a town should bear to the total number of them."

"The first result that we shall give, is the fruit of a large survey, made in one of the extreme districts of Glasgow, and comprehending a population of 10,304. The number of Sabbath-hearers ought, at the rate now specified, to have been 6240. The number of seats actually taken, in all the churches and meeting-houses put together, was only 2930. This survey becomes more instructive, when regarded in the separate portions of it. As it passes onward to the limits of the royalty, where the people become poorer, and the space which they occupy is in contact with that enormous parish, the Barony, whose population, by a recent survey, is found to be 51,861, the proportion of non-attendance becomes much greater. There are, along the line of separation between the city and the suburbs, contiguous populations of 377, 400, 500, 475, 469, and 468, where the numbers that ought to attend a place of worship, are 236, 250, 322, 297, 293, and 293, respectively; and where the sittings actually taken, which correspond to these numbers, are 76, 74, 131, 87, 103, and 113. Thus, in some instances, is it found, that the church-going population bear only the proportion of less than one-fifth to the whole, and than one-third to that part of

the whole, who would, in a well-ordered state of things, be in a regular habit of attendance upon ordinances. It is remarkable, that in one of those spaces which comprised a population of 875, there were not above 4 individuals who had a sitting in an established church; so that, were it not for dissenters, who take up at least 148 out of the whole, and 98 in chapels of ease, there would have been a district of the city, with a larger population than is to be found in many of our country parishes, in a state nearly of entire Heathenism." (P. 109—111.)

"This survey was not carried beyond the limits of the Royalty; but we are sure, if it had, that all the results would have been aggravated. In a parish of upwards of 50,000 people, where one church, and three subsidiary chapels, form the whole amount of accommodation provided by the establishment, we confidently aver, that not one-fifth of those who live in it, and not one-third of those who should have sittings, are in the habit of attendance upon any ordinances whatever; and that this computation holds, after dissenterism has put forth all its resources, and it has been free to expatiate over every neighbourhood of human beings for several generations. Such is the tried inefficiency of its mechanism. It will never, of itself, do the work of an establishment, however essential it may be in a country, to stimulate and to supplement an establishment." (P. 111, 112.)

"There are interior departments of population in Glasgow, where the amount of church-going is greatly less than all that we have yet specified. In that short street called the Goose-Dubbs, with the few lanes and closes which belong to it, there are 945 people, only 106 of whom have seats any where. The deficiency is as great in some of the sub-districts of the Saltmarket.* Dissenterism has done something for these families. It has done much more for them than the establishment has done, and yet but a humble fraction of what an establishment might do, and is best fitted to do." (P. 113.)

We have given these statements at full length, because they serve to show, how much there often remains to be done, where we are most apt to flatter ourselves that the greatest quantity of good is in progress. One difficulty in the way of attempts at usefulness, we think is answered very satisfactorily in the following passage.

"It is felt by many as a deduction from the good of the local system in towns, that the poorer among the families so frequently change their places of residence; and that there must not only be the same parish, but also the same parishioners, else the acquaintanceship which is formed, will be constantly liable to be broken up, by the constant dispersion of its members. The quantity of fluctuation is greatly overrated. The district referred to in our last chapter, as having been as-

* "In one district of the Saltmarket, there are 387 people, and only 61 of them who have seats in any place of worship. In Clay-Brae, there are 64 seats among 319 people. And in one continuous space of the Bridgegate, there are 209 people, only 7 of whom have seats any where."

sumed by a philanthropic individual, for the purpose of its moral and economical cultivation, contains 219 families, of which there were 23 removals at the last term, or about one-tenth of the whole. It will, speaking generally, be found not to exceed this fraction, in small contiguous districts of such a population; and even from this, there ought to be an abatement, in estimating the number of yearly removals from a parish: for many of the movements are internal, being from one small district of the parish to another. And besides, even though there were removals out of the parish every year, at the rate of one-tenth of all the families in it, we are not to infer, that, in ten years, there is a complete change of families; or that the old parish is thus scooped away by so many liftings of the people who live in it. The truth is, that the movement is far more a vibratory than a successive one. The families that leave a parish this year, are, in a great measure, the very families that came to it last year. There is a certain number, and those chiefly of the worse-conditioned of the population, who are constantly upon the wing; and they alternate from one parish to another, over the heads of a stable population. A locally parochial system, would serve, in the long run, to retain even these; but, even in their present amount, they leave the great bulk of the inhabitants of every parish, in a fixed and permanent state for any species of cultivation that might be applied to them. We believe, indeed, that the families of a city parish are less given to change than those of an agricultural parish, from the expiry of leases, and, above all, the yearly fluctuation of farm servants. So that there is scarcely any department, however poor, of any city, however crowded, which would not, in the course of time, be turned into a home walk." (P. 124—126.)

Another difficulty is that which is apt to arise from an apprehension that to carry forward a system of moral reform, very superior talents are requisite. This is met by Dr. Chalmers in the following manner.

"It is a very great mistake, to think that any other peculiar power is necessary for such an operation, than peculiar pains-taking. It is not with rare and extraordinary talent conferred upon a few, but with habits and principles which may be cultivated by all, that are linked our best securities for the reformation of the world. This is a work which will mainly be done with every-day instruments operating upon every-day materials; and more, too, by the multiplication of labourers, than by the gigantic labour of a small number of individuals." (P. 121.)

We are sorry to observe, that the doctor speaks in rather a desponding way of the prospect of working any effectual reformation in the present race of grown people; and looks forward to "the coming in of a better order of things," only "with the coming up of another generation." He gives it as his opinion that "the existing habit of alienation from ordinances, instead of being altogether reclaimed by exertion, will, in fact, need to be removed by death." We are unwilling, however, to permit ourselves to think this; because such a

presumption would go far towards paralysing our exertions for the benefit of the race of grown persons. Much has been done, and much more, we believe, may be done by adult schools. We are of opinion, that, through the universal and strenuous adoption of such moral resources as God has given our land to possess within herself, a moral change might, by his grace, at any time be effected over the whole face of the country within a very small number of years. At any rate, let us not put our grown population on a footing with the condemned Israelites in the book of Numbers, and suffer ourselves to believe that all above the age of twenty are to die in the wilderness.

It will be seen that one leading feature of the portion which Dr. Chalmers has yet published of his work, is the recommendation of the aggressive and the local systems of benevolence. He condemns, as equally inefficient and inoperative, the mere stationary plan, which limits itself to attraction; as well as the ambitious and expansive plan, which grasps at more than it can manage. With regard to the former system, we agree with him entirely; and we join with him in most strenuously advocating the aggressive mode of warfare. With regard to the latter we have already expressed our sentiments, to which, we imagine, on a little consideration, he will not materially object. We most cordially recommend his work to the attention of the mere graspers,—the men who can listen to no scheme of improvement which takes in less than a hemisphere; as well as to that other congenial race, the *mere* committee-men, the *mere* men of public meetings; the men who would do good by proxy, and act, by pulling the wires from behind the curtain, upon misery in the mass, without going forth into the details, and bearing their portion of the burthen and heat of the day. Most of us, we fear, partake a little of one or both of these characters. Most of us would devise something large and comprehensive. Most of us would direct the operation in the gross, without burying ourselves in the toil and obscurity of the details.

Still we shall not shrink from maintaining, and we can hardly think that Dr. Chalmers will disagree with us, that much good is effected by societies of a less particular and aggressive character: societies which merely provide moral and spiritual aid without obtruding it, and offer, to those who seek, what they do not force upon those who are indifferent. The church which stands open on the sabbath to all who chuse to enter, the school which offers instruction during the week to every applicant, the saving bank which receives the contributions of every one who comes with a deposit, the district society which furnishes bibles and other good books, without possessing within itself any provision for forcing them into general circula-

tion, all have their use. To perceive this, it is only necessary for a moment to suppose them taken away. Good is done; and good for which there is a demand, and which ought to be done; and not good the less, because done to those who will come to seek it. To think this circumstance an objection, would be like the errors of those ministers who conceive that their only business is with the sabbath-breaker and the profligate; and deem but lightly of that other important branch of their duty, the feeding of the flock of Christ,—of those ministrations of the word and ordinances, which are for the benefit of the devout and constant attendant on their ministry. We think Dr. Chalmers has occasionally expressed himself as if he were writing with this branch of ministerial duty not sufficiently in view. We believe and trust, that, in the actual discharge of his functions, he never has it out of sight.

Add to this, that many will lend their aid to institutions which are attended with no call on their individual exertions, who would never think of lending their aid where personal activity was wanted. Perhaps Dr. Chalmers might be surprised, could we estimate how much aid to the cause of good is extracted in this country from such characters. With us, comparatively speaking, the difficulty is to call forth exertion, and the facility is in raising contributions. Many will give their guineas; few will work.—We do not mean at public meetings.—But few, comparatively speaking, will work at the details. Perhaps in Scotland the case may be quite the reverse. But with us, many will set down their names with a liberal contribution towards some charitable object, who would no more think of going into the hut of the pauper, and looking misery in the face, and taking it by the hand, than they would think of going to a methodist meeting. In the way of active benevolence they will do nothing themselves, but they are glad enough to settle the business with their consciences, by making a scape-goat of their more active christian neighbour, and sending him forth to make atonement for their deficiencies, by doing the rough work of actual beneficence and intendence, with the aid of their means, and on their account. Hence arises one of the excellencies of religious societies. Through their instrumentality, many a theological sensualist, whose personal christianity extends not beyond the religion of the library, is sending forth, in these days, the missionary to the African, and the Bible to the Hindoo. All such institutions, then, in addition to their general usefulness, have a special usefulness in those places where there is not a sufficient degree of christian energy for good of any other kind to be done: so that in a place, where there is not a minister, or a parishioner, who will go out aggressively upon the uncultivated

mass, and bring himself into contact with the surrounding evil, and engage it at close quarters,—even there, may be the dispensary, the saving bank, the school, (not to say the church); even there, some misery may be receiving relief; even there, some inducement and encouragement may be held out to habits of industry; even there, in some cottages, the Bible may be in a course of reading, and the unlearned may be growing wise to salvation;—even there, some good may be in progress, where otherwise there would be none.

The danger is, that the philanthropist should be contented with seeing this; should console himself for the thought of how much requires to be done, by the thought that something is doing;—should so far pacify himself with the reflection that the work is going on, as to abstain from active exertions towards forwarding it to its conclusion. Over the whole face of the country there is yet much good that requires to be done, and much that nothing but a system directly aggressive and obtrusive ever can do. The Bible Society, we think, has the peculiar excellence of combining the advantages of both systems. Including in the list of its contributors every class and denomination, and in the objects of its exertions the whole world, it has all the advantages of the general system in their fullest perfection. Sending its agents from house to house, and investigating the spiritual wants of the community upon a plan of individual inquiry and inspection, it has also, in equal perfection, all the advantages of the particular and obtrusive system. No wonder that such a society has been the object of so much opposition and obloquy!—Especially when we take into the account, that it has the additional advantage of tending, by its very constitution, to put an end to those divisions in the Christian church, which are such a standing and effectual obstacle to the success of every scheme of Christian benevolence.*

* We are here inclined to say a word in favour of visiting societies. These may be formed upon various plans. The best would be that where all the members, or a large portion of them, would work and visit. But this cannot always be. The following plan we have seen to be attended with its advantages. Each of the subscribers contributes a quarterly sum, and is entitled to recommend objects of relief in proportion to the amount of his subscriptions. The sick person to be relieved receives a ticket, which is addressed and presented to one of the ministers of the place. This ticket authorises the minister to bestow a sum of money, at four weekly payments, and thus affords him an opportunity of pastoral visitation, and presents an opening for that counsel which is often most readily received in the hour of sickness and affliction. The advantage of the plan is, that it gives the minister access into many houses, where otherwise he might find no opportunity of admission. An acquaintanceship is thus commenced, which he may afterwards keep up and improve.

We would recommend, first, that the minister be authorized and enabled by the Society to bestow such a sum at each visit, as shall amount to an effectual relief: secondly, that he make a rule of bestowing it as soon after he enters as he con-

At a time when there exists so general a desire to bear a hand in the great work of ameliorating the condition of the poor, we are not to wonder that we observe various abortive, and some mischievous attempts at usefulness. Among these, the worst, perhaps are those where there is an endeavour to carry on a plan of personal visitation, among the dwellings of the lower orders, and where the plan is not suggested and regulated by Christian principle. We know not in what terms to reprobate those visits of inspection and interference to which the poor are sometimes compelled to submit from busy triflers, and misses in office, which begin by an act of intrusion, and are occupied in scolding. The poor ought not to be oppressed, surely, by the tyrannical benevolence of every dabbler in philanthropy. There is no reason why they should be made the subjects of these harassing experiments. They can feel like other men: are disgusted by intrusion, annoyed by inspection, irritated by scolding, spoiled by interference. The interference is the worst part of the whole. Then there is another plan:—that of dealing out a pittance of money, and then going to look after it, and asking after it, and meddling with the disposal of it, and watching for the effects of it,—just as boys put an egg into a hen's nest, and watch for its producing another. Nothing short of a sound, genuine, vital, cordial Christianity, can restore and maintain a well-regulated intercourse between the rich and the poor. Where this is wanted, even if we seem to set out well, we shall soon break down:—we shall soon begin to tire with the toil, the attention, the detail of particular superintendence:—a few casual, and hurried, and intermitting exertions will take the place of a regular system of visitation:—and the end will be that we shall drop, and finally abandon our unsupported scheme of usefulness.

From all that has been said this conclusion seems to follow, and the present publication of Dr. Chalmers tends strongly to confirm it;—that before philanthropy can do good, it must be baptized; before a man can go forth effectively as the reformer and regenerator of his neighbourhood, he must be imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, and be brought under the influence of Gospel motives. The work must commence within. Ere he enter on the undertaking, his "feet must be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace." This must be the first object of his meditations, his purposes, and his prayers. The lesson is an important one, to all who are desirous of doing good. Should they neglect it, their efforts may prove unavail-

veniently may, so that the thought of things temporal may not interfere with things eternal: and, thirdly, that the subscribers to the society do not imagine, that by making their quarterly payments, and disposing of their tickets, they have *done their duty* by their poorer neighbours.

ing at best;—it may be, mischievous;—it may be, ridiculous. To remedy the mass of moral evil now existing in the world, a mass of Christianity must first be brought to act upon it: and, coming into close contact with the mischief, must exert upon it the full force of its subduing, converting, and assimilating influence. It must be now as it was in the beginning. The Spirit of God must move upon the face of the deep. Then, and not till then, may we expect to see light, and life, and harmony, gradually springing forth again out of those now disorganized elements of the moral world, which the unassisted resources of humanity can never restore to their original order and beauty.

We cannot conclude, without expressing our thanks to Dr. Chalmers, for this addition to his many useful and masterly publications. We look for the succeeding portions of the work with pleasure, and perhaps when a few more numbers are out, may again notice the subject; especially as it is one which now occupies so much of the public attention.

Art. V.—TOUR THROUGH THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS OF INDIA, AND TO THE SOURCES OF THE RIVERS JUMNA AND GANGES.

1. *Journal of a Tour through Part of the Snowy Range of the Himālā Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges.* By James Baillie Fraser, Esq. Royal 4to. London, 1820.
2. *Views in the Himālā Mountains.* By J. B. Fraser, Esq. Colombier folio. London, 1820.

THE researches of the various able diplomatists, whom the East India Company has had the good fortune to employ, in its political relations with the native powers of India, have greatly contributed to make known to the lovers of science, the vast domains, which are either subject to its sway, or to its political influence, from their contiguity to its territories. But, notwithstanding the valuable corrections of Indian Geography furnished by their labours, the northern parts of Hindostan are still comparatively unknown. And though the able and enterprising measurements of some of the snowy peaks by Captain Webb, and the laborious calculations of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, recorded in different volumes of the "*Asiatic Researches*," have dispelled much of the error which existed respecting the *actual* heights of the celebrated Himalaya (or

Himālā) mountains: yet much ignorance and uncertainty prevailed, relative to the nature of the country and the condition of its inhabitants. This chasm in geography and history, Mr. Fraser has, to a considerable degree, supplied in the work, of which we are now to offer some account to our readers.

Travelling with the political agent, who accompanied the victorious army of the East India Company, in its late successful conquest of the Ghoorkha empire, the author and his party enjoyed a perfect and unrestrained freedom, together with full access to every place and person, whether public or private, as conquerors and benefactors. Mr. Fraser, therefore, traversed the country with a perfect facility of seeing and observing, and also of making every inquiry into its moral and political state; while his own want of skill in the language was compensated by the society of those who were perfect masters of it. Though his deficiency in the physical sciences, as Mr. Fraser candidly acknowledges, prevented him from entering into particular scientific details, yet we must do him the justice to say that the information he has collected is highly valuable; and it possesses the singular merit of pourtraying the manners and habits of the rude natives, who dwell at the foot of the great Himalayan Range, with much minuteness, and apparently with great fidelity, before they were changed by intercourse with Europeans, and even before they had mixed much with the inhabitants of the plains. As, however, the journey was suddenly projected, and was also connected with a military movement, our author's notes, though highly valuable in themselves, are necessarily somewhat deficient in arrangement. Omitting, therefore, his account of the war with the Nepaul empire, (the details of which have long since been given to the public in official dispatches,) and which terminated in the submission of the latter to the terms imposed by the East India Company, we shall proceed to classify the most material of his observations on the several regions visited by him; and shall reserve for a distinct notice his very interesting account of his visits to the reputed sacred sources of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, which were never before explored by an European.

That chain of mountains, of which the great Himālā range forms the central ridge, and which, stretching from the Indus on the north-west to the Burrampooter on the south-east, divides the plains of Hindostan and the Punjab from the wilds of Tartary, is a highly interesting tract both in a geographical and political point of view. For, independently of its containing the sources of many of the majestic rivers that fertilize and enrich Hindostan and other Asiatic regions, and being also inhabited by nations and tribes of a singular character and very

warlike disposition, who have, for ages, defied the arms of the most powerful Asiatic monarchs, it serves as a grand and most efficient boundary between two empires, of such extent as China, and that which once owned the sway of the house of Timur, but is now chiefly subject to the milder rule of the British government.

The portion of this region, visited by Mr. Fraser, is that which lies between the rivers Sutlej and Alacknunda; the former bounding it to the north-west and north, the latter to the south-east and east, while it overlooks the plains of Hindostan to the south and south-west; and on the north-east it partly includes, and is partly bounded by the mountains of Himālā. This tract of country, considerable in extent, is divided into a variety of large and small states, which are governed by chiefs, more or less dependent, in proportion as they are powerful. These various states, together with their natural and political boundaries, are enumerated by our author; but those, which he has most particularly described, and to which we shall chiefly direct our attention, are the states of Sirmore, Joobul, Comharsein, Theog, Bischur, and Gurwhāl. The general features of these countries are thus described.

"All this region, like the whole of the countries contained in the long range of mountains, is wild, rugged, and difficult of access, consisting of a mass of hills irregularly connected, or diverging in ranges of various heights from a huge elevated centre, but preserving no regularity of direction or of form. Their tops are sometimes clothed with forests of old and venerable wood; sometimes they are rocky, and green or brown; and the general aspect, to the south and south-east, is always less wooded and less broken (though still very rough), than that to the north and north-west, which is almost uniformly precipitous, formed of sharp crags covered with deep pine forests.

"The ravines that divide these hills are deep and very sudden in their descent, often ending in dark chasms that are sometimes wooded, but they as often exhibit faces of bare rock of several hundred feet high, frowning at each other, with little more space between them than has been worn by the violence of the torrents; these, taking their way from the mountain brows, where they have been collected from clouds, and rain, and melting snow, thunder down, and form these furrows in their sides.

"There are no spreading valleys, no rich meadow lands on the banks of rivers, no gentle undulation of ground on which the eye can rest with pleasure; all is steep and difficult; toilsome rise and sudden fall. Such a country offers little encouragement to the industry of the husbandman; and, accordingly, cultivation, which is limited in proportion to the extent of surface, is laboriously and sparingly scattered among the woods and rocks.

"As the country recedes from the plains it increases in difficulty and elevation, till at the foot of the snowy mountains it assumes a sa-

vage wildness; and among them, save in the passes or the beds of rivers, becomes totally impracticable and impervious.

"The rivers and their beds too gradually change their character as we approach nearer to their source, from the rapid and turbulent stream flowing through a deep and a rugged channel, but affording a comparatively easy road along its banks, to a furious torrent dashing from one huge block of stone to another, along which the traveller proceeds at first with difficulty, which increases to hazard of life, climbing over rocks, and picking his dangerous way across the face of precipices, till at length his career is stopped by masses of mighty ruin, that baffle all human attempts to invade them." (P. 55, 56.)

1. In point of value and political consideration, *Sirmore* is the second of the states above enumerated; but as it was the first, visited by Mr. Fraser, we shall commence with this state. It fell under the Ghoorka tyranny a few years ago, principally through the crooked policy of the then reigning sovereign. The Ghoorkas proved hard and oppressive masters. The old families, who were attached to the ancient hereditary government, they banished or dispersed; and they created new officers, to fill the different posts of trust, who were devoted to their service, and whose interest it was, that the old dynasty should never be revived. In many instances, the chief zemindars were carried away from their farms and families, as hostages for the peace of the district; and frequently such persons, when suspected of a wish to change masters, were put to death. Such severity naturally produced a great change in the national character, particularly in the more accessible parts of the country, near the plains, and around the capital. All enthusiasm, all appearance of love for liberty was destroyed; the people became dispirited, bowed to the dust, and alike subdued in mind and in body. In the more northern and remote parts, however, latent symptoms of anxiety to throw off the yoke, evinced themselves, as the British forces approached; and many hundreds of irregular troops inlisted into the British service. The two principal places in this state are Nahn, a small and irregular town situated on the crest of a steep hill, and the fortress of Jytock erected on the lofty end of a mountainous ridge, 3600 feet above the level of the plains. This fortress, after a siege of nearly four months (the particulars of which are detailed by Mr. Fraser) capitulated to the division of the army under General Martindale. While the forces lay before this place, our author availed himself of the opportunity thus presented to him of surveying the manners and habits of the native inhabitants.

The face of the country around Nahn and Jytock is peculiarly rugged; the hills, all the way to the river Girree, assume a crumbly and rocky sharpness, rising into narrow sharp ridges

and high peaks, that give a striking character to the whole tract. This seems to rise from the nature of their component parts. They are described, as being apparently formed of a hard stone, very apt to crack and break in sharp irregular ridges; and which, on exposure to the air, easily bursts in small fragments, and then falls into dust. This rock is covered with a thin crust of soil, which in all probability is chiefly formed of the decomposed stone, and is of various thickness. The ravines, which separate these hills, have a not less savage character: they exhibit great variety of rock and precipice, though not on so grand a scale as where the rock is of a less mouldering nature. The soil, however, which covers the mountains, is rich, and produces vegetation of much elegance and variety, besides abundance of wood.

Whenever the ground admits of being worked, much cultivation speckles the sloping sides of these wooded mountains. This is effected by cutting those parts, which are best adapted to the operation, into a succession of terraces, rising one above another, exactly like a flight of steps, having a flat level surface, on which the crops grow, and a perpendicular face. A large proportion of the mountain-sides is thus seen carved into strips that exhibit a very singular appearance. And when the country is flooded by irrigation (as was the case with much that our author saw), the singularity is heightened by the aspect of a hilly country, partly under water. The breadth and extent of these ledges or strips of land vary according to the nature of the ground. Where they are carried up one of their usual slopes, without the advantage of a retroceding vale or bottom, they are generally not more than twelve or fifteen feet broad, sometimes not more than six or eight feet, and the depth of the supporting wall frequently equals the breadth. The mode of cultivating these terraces is thus described.

"On such narrow strips it would be impossible to make use of cattle and a plough, and therefore manual labour is employed on them in preparing the soil; but wherever there is room for a plough it is preferred. The instrument here made use of is perfectly similar to that employed in the plains of Hindostan, being equally simple and inefficient: a piece of crooked wood, one end of which is fastened to a rude yoke, which crosses the necks of two bullocks, and the other end turned downwards, is sharpened to turn the ground; while near the acute angle formed by the bending, a handle is inserted to guide and press the point into the earth.

"Patience, however, (the characteristic of the Hindoo of the plains), also serves the mountaineer, instead of ampler means, to attain his end; and repeated ploughings produce an effect equal to that which a superior instrument would compass in one or two, and the soil of the hills in general favours these weak means, being free and easily worked, con-

sisting chiefly of sand, the decomposition of sandy, micaceous, and slaty stones, mixed with a considerable proportion of decayed vegetables.

" The instruments used in manual labour are equally simple and inefficient. A stick crossed at right angles, one end of which is shod with iron, resembling a miserable and broken sort of pickaxe, seems to be the principal one. But whatever their implements may be, or whether the fields are worked by the plough or by the hand, they do assuredly bring them to a high degree of tilth." (P. 115, 116.)

Two crops are reaped within the year; the first crop consists of wheat and barley. A few fields of a species of oats were observed: poppy, and certain kinds of oily seeds, a species of purslane, with curiously variegated red and green leaves; and a few poor inferior grains, filled the list. The opium is gathered from the poppy in July, and is an article of considerable traffic with the plains, whither the chief part is carried by the petty merchants who come to the hills for trade. The second crop consists chiefly of rice, but about the same time tobacco is planted, and a little cotton is sown.

" The rice of the hills is said to be peculiarly fine. Particular situations only will answer for this description of cultivation, and more than ordinary care is taken to bring it to perfection. All those spots of land, which lie near the banks of streams and in the bottoms of valleys, are selected, where a great command of water may securely be relied on. The whole extent of the terraces is carefully levelled, and very well worked with the plough, for which purpose they lay each under water, and plough them in this state.

" The parapets are put in order, and small ledges of earth are raised on the brink to retain the water let in upon the soil long enough to saturate it, when it runs off over a flat stone to the ledge below. The water-courses are also arranged so as not to receive a quantity that would deluge the fields, and yet to yield a secure supply. When all is ready, the plants, which have been previously raised from seed, as in Bengal, are planted out by hand, as in that province, while the water lies on the land.

" Irrigation is kept up from time to time as the plants require it, but water is not continually retained on the soil.

" A large tract of rice, thus in ledges and under water, has a singular but pleasing appearance when observed from a height. The bright green of the plant, shining through the water, gives a strange transparency to the strips, which being exactly level, rise in regular succession over each other, and suggest the idea of a collection of small green mirrors thus placed in order.

" The period for planting rice is during the months of May and June, in expectation of the rains which commence during the latter month, but it is protracted in the more northern districts to part of July. It usually ripens in about four months, but the time of reaping it depends much on situation and climate.

"Tobacco is an article of general cultivation in the hills, and its quality is considered fine: it is exported both to the plains and to Bootan in considerable quantities. It is planted about May and June, for the benefit of the rains, and grows readily and luxuriantly, although it requires nice attention and much manure.

"The herb bhang (a well known species of hemp), also grows spontaneously in great abundance throughout this country, and is likewise cultivated and sent prepared in its various intoxicating shapes to the low country, where it meets with a ready sale.

"Both men and women engage in the labours of agriculture, but their departments are generally distinct. The men exclusively guide the plough and sow the corn; the women weed the fields, break the clods, &c. Both sexes reap the corn; but this is principally an employment allotted to the women, who use a small sickle, ruder than that employed in Europe, and bind it into small sheaves, which, when the weather is fine, are left to dry on the field; but when it threatens rain they carry them to places formed of large flat slabs of slate, surrounded by a small wall, on which they likewise tread out the corn by means of cattle: here the reflected heat of the sun soon dries it, and any water that falls, quickly running off, has less effect on the sheaves than when lying on the moist fields. When freed by treading from the stalk, the grain is stored in the second story of the house, and the straw is preserved in stacks or houses for the use of the cattle, and for their own beds.

"The straw, however, is seldom in sufficient abundance to serve as fodder for their cattle during the winter months, especially in the more inclement parts of the mountains, and they supply the deficiency by collecting grass from the jungles, and where that is less plentiful, the fallen leaves of trees, particularly fir-trees, which serve as a substitute for fodder and for beds." (P. 117—119.)

The breed of cattle appears to be the same as the smaller sorts found in the plains, but they are somewhat larger and better of their kind, chiefly black, but occasionally red, brindled, or pied. They are, in general, fat and handsome; and the people, who pay them much attention, make great use of their milk in its different preparations.

Villages, either inhabited or in ruins, are scattered all over the hills; and, if it could be supposed that all of them had ever been occupied at the same time, it would give a strong impression of former populousness and present desolation. But the fact appears to be, that, as one place became exhausted, or as inclination or various accidents might determine them, the people quitted one village which fell into decay, and established themselves in another that consequently was new and flourishing. These villages are for the most part mean, though frequently very pleasantly situated; and are almost always adorned with a few lemon or walnut trees; or, where they will grow, with mango trees, that throw a grateful shade over the houses,

while the stone terraces built at their roots yield a comfortable seat to the inhabitants under their branches. The houses are flat roofed, built of stone, and seldom exceed one story in height. They are very rudely constructed, the side of the hill frequently serving for one of the walls, whence beams project, and are supported by the external wall or front. Their interior, however, though not arranged in the most commodious manner, is stated to be well swept and clean. A *respectable* share of the house is always appropriated to the cows, though the opening allowed to them, like the entrance to the dwelling itself, is inconveniently small and narrow.

In the course of our author's excursions, he witnessed at a village, called Bahun, a very extraordinary practice, to which the inhabitants of the hills submit their young children.

"Several straw sheds are constructed on a bank, above which a cold clear stream is led to water their fields, and a small portion of this, probably of three fingers breadth, is brought into the shed by a hollow stick or piece of bark, and falls from this spout into a small drain, which carries it off about two feet below.

"The women bring their children to these huts in the heat of the day, and having lulled them to sleep, and wrapt their bodies and feet warm in a blanket, they place them on a small bench or tray horizontally, in such a way that the water shall fall upon the crown of the head, just keeping the whole top wet with its stream.

"We saw two under this operation, and several others came in while we remained, to place their children in a similar way. Males and females are equally used thus, and their sleep seemed sound and unruffled.

"The mode too of lulling asleep was singular: seizing the infant with both arms, with these, aided by the knee, they gave it a violent rotatory motion, that seemed rather calculated to shake the child to pieces than to produce the soft effect of slumber.

"It was, however, unerring in its effects. One of the children was intently looking at the strangers, and eyeing the dresses and arms with every symptom of strong curiosity and excitement: no signs of drowsiness could be traced, yet the vigorous operation admitted of no pause; its eyes gradually closed, and in thirty seconds it was fast asleep.

"On inquiry, we were informed that this singular process for sleeping and bathing the children is universally used throughout the hills where there is the means of using it, under a notion that it is very salutary to keep the head cool, and that it increases hardihood and strength. One or two women usually sit with the children of the rest, whilst they are employed in domestic or agricultural pursuits." (P. 105, 106.)

2. *Joobul* is a hill-state of considerable extent, and is one of the principal states of the second class, if not in the amount of its revenues, at least in consequence and position. It is bounded on the south and south-east by Sirmore, on the east and north-east by the state of Gurwhāl, from which it is divided

by the river Pabur; and on the north, north-west, and west, by several petty states, which are now merged in the territories of Bischur. Previously to its conquest by the Ghoorkhas, Joobul was governed by an hereditary chief of its own, under the title of Rāna; who was, generally speaking, in a state of tolerable independence, but who nominally acknowledged himself tributary to one or other of the more powerful neighbouring states, and most frequently to the Rajah of Sirmore, whose dominions were contiguous.

After the Ghoorkhas had reduced Sirmore to their power, the petty states successively fell under their sway, with little or no resistance; and Joobul became an integral part of the Nepaulese territories. The reigning Rāna was deposed, and had since lived in retirement, supported by the private charity of some of his former subjects, who bore the yoke of their conquerors with impatience, and gladly seized the opportunity of transferring their allegiance to the British government. Of the population and revenues of this state little can be stated; the only fact known is, that it produced an annual sum of 24,000 rupees to the Ghoorkha. The chief place, (capital it can scarcely be called) is the fortress of Choupal, originally nothing more than the house of a chieftain, but converted into a fortified post by the Ghoorkhas.

"The fort is a square building of no great extent, with a tower at three of its corners, and inclosing a court of about twenty feet square. The largest tower was occupied as a temple by the divinity only, and this is ornamented with considerable neatness. A second contained the apartments of the commandant, a soubahdar.

"The whole is three stories high: in the lower one cattle of all sorts were stowed: probably in time of siege, these gave room to stores of different sorts. In the second and third the garrison was lodged. A great part consists of open verandah; but the soldiers of the East are not nice with respect to their accommodations, generally stretching themselves in their rosais wherever there is room, with little care about the apartment. Still less do the Ghoorkhas or hill-men care where they lay their wearied limbs.

"About the court-yard lay several large pieces of fir-trees, hollowed to hold water, which had been done by the soubahdar when preparing to resist the attack he saw approaching: they would not have held more than four or five days' consumption for the garrison, which consisted of 100 men.

"Around the building they had planted a good stockade, not more than six feet from the walls, which was a formidable defence, and would have prevented such troops as were likely to oppose them from an assault; and the walls were bored into loopholes for musketry in all directions.

"The troops were all under cover; but as there was no room for

them to move about in, they would have been forced to remain continually motionless in their rooms, which would of itself have been no trifling inconvenience. The stockade, when we now visited it, had since the evacuation of the post gone nearly to ruin.

" The soubahdar who had commanded it was with me at the time I examined the fort, and pointed out all his projects and contrivances; ' but,' said he, ' God willed it otherwise, and I am now your servant.'

" The sensations with which a brave soldier views the place he once commanded in, and which he has been forced to yield up without fighting, from the dread of famine and of certain destruction to his troops, must be painful, however blameless he deems himself, and the soubahdar showed that he felt them so.

" But, as he observed, what must be done at last had better be done with a good grace at first. He had no means of resisting the overpowering force that sprang up against him, nor any hope of assistance, nor the means of subsistence till such could arrive.

" He pointed out the corn he had sowed never to reap, and the improvement he meditated but could not complete, with somewhat of a bitter smile. He was a steady, determined, and zealous officer; and it is pleasing to think, that in his change of service he has been so far fortunate as to lose nothing in emolument or respect, and that while with us he met with all proper regard and attention.

" It is well known that in the East no obloquy attaches to a man who changes his side, and fights against the cause he once contended for, especially if the train of original service has once been broken; and although the point of honour seems to be tenaciously kept by the Ghoorkhas, and their attachment to their country is perhaps greater than among other eastern people, it does not appear to be considered a dishonourable act, if, when forced by an enemy to surrender prisoner, an officer of theirs should enter the service of that enemy.

" In this way Runjeet Sing, the Sikh chief, the deadly enemy of the Ghoorkha government, has inlisted a considerable body of the Ghoorkhas and others; and the deserters from the forts of Malown and Jytock, when forced by famine to leave their garrisons, inlisted with the armies investing these places." (P. 150, 151.)

3. *Comharsein* is a petty state or lordship, governed by a Rāna: during the period it was held by the Ghoorkhas, it was assessed at 7500 rupees per annum, and could muster two hundred and fifty fighting men, one hundred of whom were armed with matchlocks. The reigning sovereign, as usual, was deposed by the conquerors, and detained in prison for some time, on the commencement of the war with the British; but he effected his escape to the camp of General Ochterlony, with whom he remained for a short time, after which he returned to his exhausted territories. The town of Comharsein, which Mr. Fraser states cannot be so little as three thousand feet above the river Sutlej, is mean and poor, consisting only of a dozen houses, built, like the rest of the villages, on the hills, of dry

stone and wood, in the Chinese fashion. On the banks of the river, which takes its rise in the north-eastern front of the Himālā mountains, and, after a long course, flows through this petty state, our author discovered several huts of gold-finders, who gain a livelihood by washing its sands for the gold they contain. The process is thus described:

"This precious metal is found in considerable quantities on its banks; and, it is said, comes from gold mines of some consequence in Bootan, at or near the source of the river, which thus carries the finer parts along with its stream, depositing them gradually in its course. One of the men showed us the process by which he separated the gold from the sand; which was simple, depending on the superior specific weight of the gold over the substances with which it was mixed. With a broad shallow wooden platter he took up a small quantity of sand from a heap that was placed on a hand-barrow, and which probably was taken from some place known to be richer than others: this he dexterously washed, by dipping in the river the side of the board frequently, to allow the light parts to drain off, and fresh water to come on. Thus, the gold and heavier parts sunk to the bottom of the shallow hollow; and at last the gold alone remained, mixed with large and heavy particles of black sand. It was small in quantity; and he informed us that his daily earnings were not more than from two to four, or even five anas; and this small quantity he sells to the zemindars, receiving food in return. Probably he underrates his profits purposely—a common expedient with the inhabitants of India, who could not, in former times, display their riches, without the danger of having them forcibly wrested from them. I bought all the gold he had, or at least produced, amounting only to two rupees." (P. 191, 192.)

4. Of the boundaries and extent of the petty state of *Theog*, no particulars are given; but we meet with several interesting sketches of the character and manners of the inhabitants of this mountainous region. The whole of them are still in that semi-barbarous state, between the complete savage and that, which, in consequence of a commencing intercourse with a civilized people, is just emerging from so gross a condition.

"The character of the mountaineer corresponds with the state in which he is found. Much of his original nature remains strongly indicated; he is wild and hasty, and apt to commit excesses; he will steal and rob; and those who have the power, and can command the devotion of others become petty tyrants, and attack and plunder their neighbours. Their law, if they had their will, would only be the sword. This has been signally proved by the strong enmities which the chiefs of the petty lordships, and even the more powerful princes of the country, bear to one another, and the endless feuds which subsist between them and even between the minor families of the various principalities. The instances of individual hatred and revenge are perhaps not less notorious and well authenticated, than the universal propensity to plunder and steal. Such must always be the condition of a people,

when the laws and the sovereign are too weak to punish the wicked, and to support the wronged and oppressed, and when the country, difficult or impracticable, favours a lawless and violent conduct. But it is to be feared, that the mountaineer of these hills is not only violent and unruly; he is wily, cunning, and treacherous, and certainly revengeful. The conduct of the men of Poonurr to the Ghoorkha soldiers, and that of the combined troops of Bischur, Cooloo, Joobul, &c. to Kirtee Rānā, afford strong proofs of this.

"We can discover in them all the uncertain, wavering, and meanly cautious features of the Asiatic character, caught perhaps in some measure by their depraved intercourse with the plains, as well as remaining in the breed by blood. In every transaction with these people this was very obvious. The conduct of the chiefs of the different districts, when invited to take a decided part with the British arms, was strikingly illustrative of it, not only when some shadow of excuse existed in the ignorance of the people for such irresolution, and even double dealing; but even in cases where no chance of eventual advantage could be discovered, did they vacillate, and change, and negotiate, on both sides, with a miserable treacherous policy.

"In every dealing of inferior importance that occurred on the march, they prevaricated, trifled, and endeavoured to disappoint or deceive us. Seldom could a direct answer to any question be obtained; or all was fair promise without an idea of fulfilment, although they were aware that the means of enforcing performance were in our hands, and no obvious benefit was to be obtained by withholding what was demanded. The corn wanted for the troops and required of them, but which they either declared their inability to supply, or about which they equivocated for days, was at last, on search, found in abundance in their houses, although the price fixed upon it by their own headman had been advanced for its purchase; and this at a time when they knew that the Ghoorkha power was overthrown, and the British arms had broken their own chains: this was not only a very unamiable, but a very unaccountable trait in their character. Like most Asiatics, but exceeding them, they are severe and tyrannical masters, but cringing to a disgusting degree to those whom they know to be their superiors in power. Those who were foremost in denying to us the necessaries we wanted, were, when brought before us, by far the most servile and abject in their professions of service and devotion." (P. 201, 202.)

From the preceding account, it will readily be seen, that hospitality is not a characteristic of these rude mountaineers whose dress is not unlike that of the Scottish highlanders, consisting of a coarse but warm woollen jacket, with skirts like those of the philibeg, stout coarse trowsers, and a plaid-like wrapper and waist-cloth, together with a black bonnet; on their belts they wear axes, and, when they can afford it, a sword; shields are not of common occurrence, except among those who are above the common order. This national dress is adopted by the smaller and remoter chiefs, excepting that the cloth is of a fine texture, and that they wear a few ornaments: but

those, who are of a higher order, or are more disposed to indulge their vanity, assume the Hindostanee costume. The dress of the women is singular enough.

"They wore a blanket dress like that of the men, but ending in a longer petticoat; a waistband of coarse woollen, wrapped several times around them, generally all in tatters, and a piece of cloth strangely wound round the head, as a sort of turban, were their usual costume. They wore their hair twisted up into long thick rolls, ornamented with red wool hanging down their backs; an ornament in which they appear to have greatly prided themselves; and they formed this tail or huge plait of a length to reach far below the waist, and of a thickness at least equal to their arm. Those who were not so fortunate as to possess a *chevelure* of such beautiful bulk, made up the deficiency by working in a quantity of black wool; the end of all these queues was puffed out into a sort of tassel of small plaits, and the whole was tied by a string of red wool. To unravel such a head-dress must be an endless task, and I fear it must be inferred, that the heads of these fair creatures are not in a state commendable for cleanliness.

"They wear N,huts or large rings in the nose, after the common Hindostanee fashion, and ear-rings, valuable and large, according to the means of the owner. Round the ancles are huge and heavy ornaments of pewter, and on the arms large bangles of the same, or of brass; the toes and fingers are strung with rings of these metals, and round the neck, and on the breast, they wear a profusion of beads, of glass, pewter, and sometimes perhaps of silver." (P. 205, 206.)

The customs, in the hilly regions explored by Mr. Fraser, with respect to marriage, are very extraordinary. Women are here articles of property; it is usual for the future husband to purchase his wife from her parents; and the sum thus paid varies with the rank of the purchaser. The customary charge to a common peasant or zemindar, is from ten to twenty rupees; where three or four brothers cannot afford to raise the requisite sum individually, they contribute their respective shares, and thus purchase a wife, with whom they live in common. The first born child belongs to the eldest brother, and the next in succession are supplied in turn. The effect of this revolting custom, as may be expected, is deplorably injurious to the morals of the females; who, seeing chastity not valued, are not careful to preserve it. Both women and men participate in the labour of the field, with their cattle. The women weed, plant rice, gather stones, cut the corn, attend the thrashing it by the feet of cattle on a round paved spot, and sift it from the husk. The operation of reducing it to meal is performed by small water mills of simple but efficient contrivance. The interior of their houses is comfortable and clean; they are always seen in villages, consisting of from five to twenty dwellings, and frequently form picturesque objects at a distance.

crowning some height, overhanging a glen, or intermingled with wood on the uprising face of a hill. Every one has one or more lofty ornamented towers or temples overlooking the village. Besides these temples (for superstition here holds her sovereign sway), there are in every village, and on each wayside, temples erected in honour of different Hindoo deities, under innumerable names; in addition to which they have an infinite variety of deities of their own, the *genii loci*, whose temples are seen on every hill, at every turn and remarkable place on the road. There is not a single pinnacle of a hill that is not topped with a heap of stones, a single pillar, or a small hut; to which the mountaineer turns with mysterious solemnity, and, prostrating himself, offers his supplications to the divinity of the place.

The internal regulation of their villages and small communities perfectly resembles the patriarchal form of their more important governments. Every village has its seānā, or chief, to whom the inhabitants pay great deference, and refer all their disputes. He always possesses much influence, and when any requisition is to be made from a village, the seānā is the person whose province it is to enforce it. He also collects the tribute for the government, and is in some measure considered as responsible for the conduct of his villagers.

"Each head of a family exercises a very arbitrary right over the members of it; but this, in common with all the nations of the East, is increased by custom and by remoteness, as higher authorities can less interfere with the exercise of the parental privilege. Even the lives of the members of his family are, with perhaps little appeal, in the hands of the head of it, and their persons are fully at his mercy. The power he possesses of disposing of their liberties is too certain and too frequently exercised, as appears proved beyond dispute; and indeed the number of slaves always brought from the hills, which are met with in native families in Hindostan, affords too strong evidence to leave a doubt that this traffic goes on to a great extent.

"There is no doubt that the Ghoorkhas, during their tyranny, seized and sold the unhappy mountaineers, particularly of Gurwhāl, in great numbers: of that country, in the course of twelve years, two lacs of people are said to have been thus disposed of: in consequence of the desolation spread around from the seizure of his crops for military purposes, the zemindar could seldom pay the quota of his tribute; out of a family of four or five children they forced him to give up one as a commutation, and instances have, it is said, occurred, where every one of the children were thus in succession torn away.

"The distress of the parents too, their own pressure for food, frequently occasioned voluntary sales of their offspring, and one was disposed of that the rest might have food. But although this distress might partly occasion this violation of the feelings of nature, it is to be

feared that such an expedient would not have been resorted to had not previous experience pointed it out: in all probability the practice has long existed, and the parents' feelings have been rendered callous by custom.

"Slaves from the hills have been long known in Hindostan. The inhabitants of Bischur, however, deny that they ever thus dispose of their children; those of Sirmore and Gurwhāl confess that they sometimes do, and I fear that the former state does not, in such denial, adhere to truth.

"The females of Bischur are spoken of as excelling those of the other states in beauty, and, accordingly, slaves of this nation are sought after, a temptation probably not to be resisted; and in a country surrounded by states that practise such a custom, it is not likely that it should. Indeed, from the result of some inquiries, and the manner in which some offers which we made for experiment were received, I have no doubt that all they wish is, that it should not be believed that they are guilty of what nature must tell every one is a disgraceful and cruel crime.

"The prices of such slaves vary greatly, and depend on many circumstances; the age, beauty, or strength of the person to be sold; the necessity and distance from market of the seller. Far in the hills, and remote from the chief marts for such traffic, the price will have, and I believe has, reference to that which is given by a zemindar for a wife; contemplating that the parent is to be totally deprived of any future intercourse with his child, as well as from the benefit of his or her labour, from twenty to fifty rupees will probably be the extent of the demand in such situations.

"If distress be the reason for sale, and the seller be the offerer, not the acceptor of an offer, a very small sum indeed will often answer; I think I have heard of eight to ten rupees, but of this I am not certain: hunger and distress will force a human being to make dreadful sacrifices, but I believe that at the usual places for such purchases in the vicinity of the plains, from 50 to 150, and even 200 rupees, are commonly given for a promising slave, not quite a child, of either sex, when extraordinary beauty, or some accidental circumstance, does not fix on them any extrinsic value." (P. 218—220.)

In justice to the British government in India, we must add, that it has done all in its power to prevent the continuance of this unhappy traffic, by a decided prohibition, declaring that all slaves, purchased subsequently to the date of the regulation, shall be liberated on application to a magistrate. And this prohibition has been duly enforced, particularly in the upper provinces which are most liable to the temptation, liberty having always been given to those persons whose cases were represented to the proper authority; although there is still reason to fear that the nafarious traffic continues to be carried on, but with great secrecy and caution. It is however some mitigation of slavery in Hindostan (if any thing can

compensate for the loss of personal liberty), that the natives are not usually cruel masters; on the contrary, their slaves live happily, and often become so attached, as to lose all wish to quit their owners.

5. *Bischur* is one of the primary states of this northern region: originally it was a small province, but by subsequent and gradual encroachments it has acquired its present importance. On one side it borders on China, and in other directions it is bounded by various states in an irregular and, for the most part, undivided line. It is divided into four districts, viz. Kunawur, the tract which includes the two chief towns of Rampore and Serān, and part of the valley of the Sutlej, the valley of the river Pabur, and the vallies of Nawur and Teekur.

The wild passes and hardy inhabitants of Kunawur constitute the chief strength of Bischur: the province is inhospitable and bleak in climate, barren and unproductive in soil. It produces but little grain, and the inhabitants exchange salt, wool, woollen-cloths, and other articles for corn, which they procure from more fertile districts. Many sheep and cattle are reared in Kunawur, particularly the yāk of Tartary, which is found in the remoter parts. The inhabitants are strongly marked with the Tartar physiognomy, and are remarkable for their integrity, which has thrown into their hands most of the commerce between Hindostan and Tartary, and between Tartary and Cashmere. Every person is safe in Kunawur, of whatever religion or sect he may be. Mr. Fraser has recorded the the following pleasing instance of the honest punctuality of a Kunawurree travelling merchant, which took place long after his tour was made.

"He was invited to make a trading voyage into Bootan and Yarkund, and a sum of money, very considerable in his estimation, was entrusted to him, to procure some of the produce of these parts, partly with a view of verifying his relation, and partly to judge of the value of the commodities in question, and of the possibility of procuring them. The man was with difficulty induced to take charge of the money, and with still greater difficulty prevailed on to promise to deliver the articles in the plains of Hindostan, at some distance from the hills, with his own hands. But he fulfilled his promise, and in a way that proved his honesty, for he himself brought, very nearly at the time he was expected to arrive, a quantity of the things ordered, which showed he had strictly adhered to his bargain of only making a profit on the articles of intermediate traffic, while the full value of the money was restored to the lender, in goods of these countries at the cost *there*. It is delightful and refreshing to record a circumstance that marks a valuable trait of character among the wretched features of depravity and savageness which must be pourtrayed, in order to give a true delineation of the people of the country under review." (P. 264, 265.)

Though recognized as Hindoos by descent and general profession, the Kunawurrees generally follow the Lama religion, whose ministers or priests are dispersed over the country, and sell them small idols which they carry about their persons.

The other districts of the state of Bischur are, for the most part, exceedingly fertile; but their inhabitants are, by no means, characterized by the integrity and fidelity of the Kunawurrees, being revengeful and treacherous, abandoned in morals, and vicious in their habits, particularly in the vallies of Nawur and Teekur. As a proof of the savage indifference with which they look upon the life of another, Mr. Fraser relates that mere wantonness or joke will induce them to put a man to death,—merely for the satisfaction of seeing the blood flow and marking the last struggles of their unhappy victim! Female chastity is here quite unknown, and murder, robbery, and outrage of every kind are regarded with indifference. We reluctantly pass over much curious information relative to the natural history, and political condition of the state of Bischur, in order to conduct our readers to

6. *Gurwhāl*, the chief scene of Hindoo mythology. This state is of great extent though of small comparative value: many of the large rivers of Upper India, and all those which form the origin of the Ganges, have their rise in its mountains, and hold their course through its territory. The divisions of Gurwhāl it is not easy to ascertain: its most valuable part is the very fertile valley of Deyrah-Dhoon, which extends from the Jumna to the Ganges, through a length of forty miles, and is from eight to eleven miles in breadth. Prior to the conquest of this state by the Ghoorkhas (which, though attempted in 1791, was not completed until 1803) the valley of Deyrah-Dhoon is said to have yielded to the government a lack of rupees yearly; but the Ghoorkhas, having devastated it greatly, never realized more than twenty thousand rupees per annum. The chief town or capital of Gurwhāl is Srenuggur: it was once comparatively populous and prosperous, being not only the residence of the court, but also a considerable entrepôt for the produce of the various countries in and on either side of the Snowy Mountains, which were exchanged by means of various ghauts or passes. At present, Srenuggur is falling rapidly to decay, partly from the oppression and tyranny of its conquerors, and partly also in consequence of a violent earthquake that took place in 1803, as well as from the annual encroachments of the river Alacknunda, on whose southern bank it is situated.

As the principal scene of Hindoo mythology lies in this country, and is chiefly concentred about the sources of the rivers

which flow from the recesses of the snow-clad Himālā; the temples and places of attraction to the devotees of Hindostan are comparatively numerous. Two of these are pre-eminently celebrated, viz. *Jumnotree*, or the source of the Jumna; and *Gangotree*, or the source of the Ganges.

In his progress to Jumnotree, our author witnessed a curious solemnity at a village called Cursalee.

"It is large, tolerably neat, and probably populous; but at present it is full of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring villages, who have brought the images of their gods to bathe. The Seāna, with the Pundit, and Brahmins of Jumnotree, attended by a great number of both sexes, came out to meet us. The Pundit, a mean and dirty looking fellow, clad like the rest in coarse blankets, came forward, and insisted on marking my forehead with the sacred yellow; a ceremony which I submitted to with a good grace as to a high compliment, and which was eagerly sought for by the Hindoo attendants, who, as well as the Seāna, and most of the villagers, received this blessing after me. We then proceeded to our quarters, which were very tolerable, clean and dry. As for coolness of situation, it is not here much required.

"The annual ceremony of carrying the images of their gods to wash in the sacred stream of the Jumna is (it appears) one of much solemnity among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood; and the concourse of people here assembled has been busily engaged, and continues to be fully occupied in doing honour to it. They dance to the sound of strange music, and intoxicate themselves with a sort of vile spirit, brewed here from grain and particular roots, sometimes, it is said, sharpened by pepper. The dance is most grotesque and savage: a multitude of men taking hands, sometimes in a circle, sometimes in line, beating time with their feet, bend with one accord, first nearly to the earth with their faces, then backwards, and then sidewise, with various wild contortions. These, and their uncouth dress of black and gray blankets, give a peculiar air of brutal ferocity to the assemblage. The men dance all day, and in the evening they are joined by the women, who mix indiscriminately with them, and keep up dancing and intoxication till the night is far advanced. They continue this frantic kind of worship for several days; and, in truth, it is much in unison with their general manners and habits,—savage and inconsistent. At a place so sacred, the residence of so many holy Brahmins, and the resort of so many pious pilgrims, we might expect to find a strict attention to the forms of religion, and a scrupulous observance of the privations and austerities enjoined by it. So far, however, is this from the truth, that much is met with, shocking even to those Hindoos who are least bigotted." (P. 422.)

The celebrated spot which obtains the name of Jumnotree is thus described.

"It is very little below the place where the various small streams formed on the mountain brow, by the melting of many masses of snow, unite in one, and fall into a basin below. To this basin, however, there is no

access, for immediately above this spot, the rocks again close over the stream, and, though not so lofty as those below, they interpose a complete bar to further progress in the bed of the torrent: a mass of snow too had fallen from above at the farther extremity of this pass, under which the river runs. Between the two banks, the view is closed by the breast of the mountain, which is of vivid green from perpetual moisture, and is furrowed by time and the torrents into numberless ravines; and down these ravines are seen trickling the numerous sources of this branch of the Jumna. Above this green bank, rugged, bare, and dark, rocky cliffs arise, and the deep calm beds and cliffs of snow, towering above all, finish the picture. Noble rocks of varied hues and forms, crowned with luxuriant dark foliage, and the stream foaming from rock to rock, forms a foreground not unworthy of it.

"At the place where it is customary to perform ablution, the rock on the north-east side of the river is very steep. This seems to be of the same nature as that which has been noticed at Usurcegurh, apparently quartzose, and chiefly white, but exhibiting different shades and colours. The structure also is laminous, and from between these laminæ run several small streams of warm water, forming, together, a considerable quantity. There are several other sources, and one in particular, from which springs a column of very considerable size, is situate in the bed of the river between two large stones, and over it falls a stream of the river water. This water is much hotter than that already noticed: the hand cannot bear to be kept a moment in it, and it emits much vapour. I could not detect the least acidity by the taste, nor any sulphureous or other smell in the water; it was exceedingly pure, transparent, and tasteless. A great quantity of red crust, apparently deposited by the water, which seemed to be formed of an iron oxide, and some gritty earth, covered all the stones around and under the stream. This, on exposure to the air, hardened into a perfect but very porous stone, whilst below the water it was frequently mixed with a slimy substance of a very peculiar character, of a dull yellowish colour, somewhat like isinglass, certainly a production of the water, as well as the above crust, for it covered the stones over which the stream ran, and was very abundant.

"The violence and inequality of the stream frequently changes the bed of the river. Formerly it lay on the side opposite to this rock, and the numerous sources of this warm water were then very perceptible, many of them springing from the rock and gravel to some height in the air; but several of these are now lost in the present course of the stream. These warm springs are of great sanctity, and the spot for bathing is at that point before mentioned, where one of a considerable size rises in a pool of the cold river water, and renders it milk warm. This jet is both heard and seen, as it plays far under the surface of the pool. These springs have all particular names, such as Goureecound, Tubutcound, &c.; and, as usual, a superstitious tale is related concerning their origin. Thus it is said that the spirits of the *Kikees*, or twelve holy men who followed Maha Deo from Lunka (after the usurpation of the tyrant Rawen), to Himālā, inhabit this rock, and continually worship him. But why this operation should produce

springs of hot water in this place is not so clear. Here, however, all the people bathed, while the Pundit said prayers, and received his dues; and here also I bathed, was prayed over, and submitted to be marked by the sacred mud of the hot springs in the forehead like the rest, and of course was obliged to make my present to the priest for his ministry.

"I complied with the custom of approaching the spot with bare feet. The whole of the people had put off their shoes a long way below. We looked around in vain for a situation where to pass the night under cover; and, as the weather was too cold to keep the people exposed to it, with the imminent appearance of rain, I agreed, though unwillingly, to return." (F. 428, 429.)

Several very interesting geological observations on the Himālā mountains terminate the account of Jumnotree, for which we have not room; we shall, therefore, extract only a few passages, descriptive of the author's journey to Gangotree or Gungotree, near the source of the Bhagiruttee (the principal fount of the Ganges), in the centre of the range of the Himālā mountains, called Rodroo Himālā. In ascending to this stupendous height, Mr. Fraser and his party experienced that difficulty of breathing which is felt on reaching an elevation beyond the region of vegetation. The natives who attended him, notwithstanding that circumstance, attributed it to the serān or poison in the air arising from the perfume of flowers.

"I had no idea that height of situation could have so severely affected the strength and chest, and yet it must have been this alone, for severe as was the ascent, and bad as the road was, we had met with fully as bad days' journeys before; and though the people asserted that the air was poisoned by the scent of flowers, and though there really was a profusion of them through the whole of the first part of the march, yet the principal part of them had no smell, nor could I perceive any thing in the air except a cold and somewhat raw wind. Besides which, the chief distress was experienced after we reached the lofty gorge of Bamsooroo, which was beyond the region of vegetation, and consequently could not be easily affected by the perfume of flowers. After reaching that place no one was proof against this influence. It was ludicrous to see those who had laughed at others, yielding, some to lassitude, and others to sickness, yet endeavouring to conceal it from the rest. I believe I held out longer than any one; yet after passing this gorge every few paces of ascent seemed an insuperable labour, and even in passing along the most level places my knees trembled under me, and at times even sickness at stomach was experienced. The symptoms it produced were various: some were affected with violent headache; others had severe pains in the chest, with oppression; others sickness at the stomach and vomiting; many were overcome with heaviness, and fell asleep even while walking along. But what proved the fact that all this was the effect of our great elevation, was, that as we lowered our situation, and reached the region of vegetation and wood, all these violent symptoms and pains gradually lessened and vanished.

The appearance of the higher cliffs, however, both snowy and rocky, and the sensations of this day, proved most satisfactorily that it would be a very arduous undertaking, if not an impracticable one, to ascend even nearly to the tops of these loftiest hills. We could not have been within several thousand feet of even those peaks of snow which were tolerably near us." (P. 449.)

" The vegetable productions of this day's march are very various, and many of them new, and differing from those formerly met with. Two flowers particularly attracted attention. One was called goo-gool, and grew somewhat like the common flat thistle, with leaves radiating from a centre like a sun, in which centre grew a flower, on a level with the flat leaves, and much resembling the blossom of a pine-apple. This plant is held in much religious veneration. The other was a very curious one: a stalk covered with large and long leaves, somewhat like those of a primrose, ended in a cup like that of a tulip, but which appeared merely the continuation of these leaves closing, and forming the petals of a very noble flower, in the centre of which the stamina and pistil were seen. The leaves which compose this flower have a green tinge at their insertion like those on the stalk, but the middle and higher parts are black and yellow, as is the centre of the cup, but more vivid. It is called by the hill people *birmah counla*, because, as the guide informed us, it was like the rajah among the other flowers; the 'sequitur,' of which I in vain searched for, particularly as I could get no translation of the component parts of this name. It has since been suggested to me that the name is *brimah counla*, the latter part of which (*counla*) means the flower of the lotus plant, from which Brimah was produced at the commencement of the creation, according to Hindoo mythology, and therefore of course a flower held in high esteem, which caused its being likened to a rajah among the flowers.

" Various, rich, and lovely were the myriads of large and smaller blossoms which decked these wild scenes, and I much regret my inability to give their names and botanical descriptions. Many varieties of the primrose and polyanthus, many orchides, and others resembling our common meadow flowers, grew in profusion. The only other plant, however, that I shall notice, is one which was found on the very extreme verge of vegetation alone: like the goo-gool it was low, but not quite flat, perhaps about four inches high, somewhat resembling a thistle just blossoming; but the leaves did not lie on the ground; they shrouded the blossom, which was enveloped in a thick covering like the web of a spider, which, spangled with dew, had a most singular appearance. The root was small, but firmly fixed in the ground: it displayed no colour but a brownish green. I could not obtain any name for this very curious mountain production. It seems to delight only in the close vicinity to the snow. During this day's march no living thing was seen except the monāls, which flocked together, and which I suspected to be of a species somewhat different from that which is met with lower down. They sat on the gray stones like ptarmigans on the loftiest hills at home, and in the short brown moss and grass looked exactly like grouse. I shot only one young one, which was a little larger, but precisely like a young moorfowl or blackgame, but could not succeed in killing any of the older birds." (P. 450, 451.)

The scenery of the upper parts of the Himālā range, which is noticed in the first of the preceding paragraphs, is afterwards described in a highly interesting manner, which does not admit of abridgment. Its general outline is thus pourtrayed:

"It is not easy to describe the change of scene effected by this change of situation: not only is luxuriant foliage more rare, all rich and lively greens giving way to the dark brown of the fir, which spots the face of the rock, but even that rock is evidently more continually acted on by the severity of the storms. Instead of being covered with rich and varied hues, the effect of lichens and the smaller herbage, that usually clothe and variegate even a precipice, the rocks here are white, gray, red, or brown, the colour of their fracture, as if a constant violence was crumbling them to pieces. Their sharp and splintered pinnacles spire up above the general mass: their middle region and feet are scantily sprinkled with the sombre unvarying fir-tree; while the higher parts, retiring from the view, present little more than brown rock, except where a lofty mass of snow overtops them, and calls to our recollection how nearly and completely we are surrounded by it. No green smiling valleys yield their waters to the river: the white and foul torrents which swell its stream pour their troubled tribute through chasms cleft in the solid rock, or are seen tumbling down its face, from the snow that gives them birth.

"The whole scene casts a damp on the mind: an indefinite idea of desert solitude and helplesssness steals over it: we are, as it were, shut out from the world, and feel our nothingness. Like the scenes they are placed among, the inhabitants of this village are wild in their appearance, and uncouth in their manners; but there is no essential difference between them and those with whom we have heretofore met. I met, indeed, with one or two who were peculiarly intelligent; but their language forms a considerable obstacle to taking advantage of their acuteness: it was still Hindoostannee, but so disguised by accent and dialect, and altered by new terminations and expletives, that it was difficult to understand the simplest sentences without an interpreter, or frequent repetitions. The Pundit was not only an intelligent man, but gave his information in the most intelligible language. Their dress is the same as that of the peasantry at Cursalee, black and gray blankets of coarse wool." (P. 458.)

The author's account of his visit to Gungotree, one of the reputed sacred sources of the Ganges, is very interesting; and the more so, as it has not been before described or visited by any European. He made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to the actual source of the Ganges; but want of time compelled him to relinquish his design. From the information given him by a Pundit, he concludes that it is not more than five miles' horizontal distance from the temple, in a south-east direction, nearly 85°; and that, beyond this place, it is in all probability chiefly supplied by the melting of the great bosom of snow which terminates the valley, and which lies between the peaks

of the gigantic Roodroo Himālā. But though our enterprising author could not penetrate to the real source of the Ganges, he endeavoured to collect, and has happily succeeded in collecting, the legendary history of this far-famed spot, for which we must refer our readers to his volume, as also for his observations on the geological structure and height of the Himālā mountains. We shall only add, that, after retracing his way over the perilous and fearful road above described, he safely reached Serampore (or Saharunpore, as he spells it) on the night of the 30th of July, 1815.

Mr. Fraser's volume is furnished with an excellent map, and with an Appendix containing much curious political and statistical information. The "Views in the Himālā Mountains" are twenty in number, and represent the most striking scenes that occurred in the author's route, beautifully engraved and coloured to imitate the original drawings. The Views of Jumnotree and Gungotree, above described, are singularly grand and awful. Altogether, we regard Mr. Fraser's work as a valuable accession to the chorography of India, and highly creditable to himself as an acute and diligent observer of nature in her wildest and sublimest forms.

ART. VI.—*Horæ Homileticæ; or Discourses (in the Form of Skeletons) upon the whole Scriptures.* By the Rev. C. Simeon, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 11 vols. 8vo. Cadell and Davies, London, 1820.

THERE are no subjects of deeper interest than those which relate to the character and influence of the national clergy. Nor is the mode in which they conduct their public instructions the least important part of such a question. The preservation or revival of pure religion among the great mass of our people depends far more than is commonly thought on the doctrines inculcated by them on each recurring Sunday. In the numerous cases where the pious clergyman, studying with becoming diligence the sacred Scriptures, endeavours, both in public and private, to teach and admonish his parishioners in a simple weighty and affectionate manner, the benefits of which he is the author or instrument are incalculable. Men are gradually taught the way of pardon and grace: they are trained in habits of devotion; they are made familiar with their duties; the principle of conscience is awakened; the springs of domestic happiness are replenished; subordination, civil and domestic,

is promoted; the ills and troubles of life are alleviated:—in a word, peace and holiness are diffused around, and the forms and services of the national church are endeared to the people.

The blessings which ramify from this fruitful stock to the neighbourhood and the community are obvious. The protection they furnish against the inroads of demoralising principles in religion or politics need not be named. Every reader, on the slightest consideration, must allow that real, unaffected, and practical Christianity is the only shield to guard the heart of man in this world of trial, and especially in the moments of popular error and delusion.

These observations on the importance of the character of the clergy will not, we imagine, be disputed. It is a more difficult task to dictate the course and character of their actual instructions in the present day. The danger of indulging in a spirit of criticism on pious labours, and the importance of encircling the ministers of religion with a conservative respect, concur to make the attempt hazardous. At the same time, it must be admitted, that a fair consideration of the facts of the case is quite indispensable to the discussion of any question. We do not, therefore, scruple to avow our persuasion, that there has been a lamentable departure from the sound scriptural doctrine of our reformers on the part of many of our bishops and clergy; and that the prosperity of our church is intimately connected with the progress of that revival of religion which, through the mercy of God, is now going on. All the causes of dissent united have not contributed so much to the weakening of the bulwarks of the Church of England, as those careless, tame, and unsound discourses which, departing from the spirit of the reformed doctrines, have neither received the blessing of God, nor the favour of man. Ethics have too often usurped the place of the gospel—lifeless disquisitions have been substituted for warm and affectionate addresses—the promises and precepts of the Bible have been obscured and confounded—the law of God has been enervated, and the salvation of grace almost forgotten—whilst declarations against enthusiasm, and over-statements on matters of church discipline, have only aggravated the evils they were employed to remedy. At this moment we verily believe that, in proportion as the pure tenets of christianity shall inspire the heart and guide the tongue, of the ministers of religion, will our national church be protected, and the national safety ultimately secured. This will nourish the root of public morals. From this, as from a mountain-spring, refreshment and life will flow. Whilst, on the other hand, we cannot but think that, in proportion as a secular spirit, the love of ease, the temper of the world, the ambition of preferment, indolence in spiritual duties, coldness

and distance towards the flock shall prevail, will the dangers of our establishment be increased.

It is, therefore, with much interest that we take up any performance which appears calculated to promote real piety amongst the clergy, and thus to uphold and advance our national prosperity. We cannot, indeed, in a journal which strives to present a view of the vast circle of literature, devote frequently an express article to a theological work; but when eleven thick and closely-printed volumes—the labour almost of a life—are issued from the press, we seem to be under some sort of obligation to bestow upon them an extended notice; more especially when, as in the case before us, they constitute a part of a series of volumes which, altogether, form the largest and most important accession to our stock of pulpit divinity that has, for a long space of time, been presented to the British public.

Itwas, we believe, in the year 1796 that our author published his first volume, containing the celebrated essay on the composition of a sermon by Claude, and an hundred plans of sermons of his own. In 1801 and 1802 four more volumes appeared, consisting of 510 additional plans, or skeletons of sermons. These volumes having been well received, the author has now completed his design in the eleven volumes which are before us, and which contain a series of discourses, some more briefly, and others more fully developed, on the chief passages of the Holy Scriptures, beginning with the book of Genesis, and proceeding in the order of our English Bible, through the entire sacred canon. The number of sermons is, in the whole, about 1800; of which more than 1200 are given in the present publication. Of the form of these discourses, it may be necessary to give our readers a specimen before we enter on the consideration of their merits. It is that of an abridged sermon; the introduction, chief heads, and transitions being printed in a larger type, so as instantly to catch the eye, and present the order of the entire discourse; whilst the subordinate thoughts, which develope the leading ones under each head, are printed in a smaller character. We give, as an example, the second discourse in the present work, on the appointment of the Sabbath, which we rather select because it states well a most important topic of duty, now, alas, too much neglected, and the breach of which goes, in our judgment, to loosen the very foundations of the morals of this country.

"APPOINTMENT OF THE SABBATH.

"Gen. ii. 2, 3. *On the seventh day, God ended his work which he had made: and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; be-*

cause that in it he had rested from all his work, which God created and made.

" Though we know no reason on God's part why he should proceed in the work of creation by slow and gradual advancement, instead of perfecting the whole at once; yet we may conceive a reason on the part of man, who is enabled thereby to take a more minute and deliberate survey of all its parts, and from every fresh discovery of the creation to derive fresh themes of praise to the Creator. This idea seems to be countenanced by the institution of a Sabbath immediately after the completion of the sixth day's work. At all events, this is the improvement which it becomes us to make of the Sabbath: in speaking of which we shall shew,

" I. The reason of its appointment—

" God, after finishing his work, ' rested, and was refreshed.' Whether this expression be merely a figure taken from what is experienced by us after any laborious and successful exertion, or whether it intimate the complacency which God felt, as it were, on a review of his works, we cannot absolutely determine. But his sanctifying of the seventh day in consequence of that rest, shews, that he consulted,

" 1. His own glory—

" [As ' God made all things for himself,' so he instituted the Sabbath in order that his rational creatures might have stated opportunities of paying him their tribute of prayer and praise. If no period had been fixed by him for the solemnities of public worship, it would have been impossible to bring mankind to an agreement respecting the time when they should render unto him their united homage. They would all acknowledge the propriety of serving him in concert; but each would be ready to consult his own convenience; a difference of sentiment also would obtain respecting the portion of time that should be allotted to his service: and thus there would never be one hour when all should join together in celebrating their Creator's praise. But by an authoritative separation of the seventh day, God has secured, that the whole creation shall acknowledge him, and that His goodness shall be had in everlasting remembrance. In this view, God himself, speaking of the Sabbath *which he had instituted at the creation*, and the observance of which he was, with some additional reasons, enforcing on the Jews, calls it ' *a sign* between him and them, that they might know that he is the Lord."]

" 2. His people's good—

" [Though men might have worshipped God in secret, yet the appointment of a certain day to be entirely devoted to His service, had a tendency to spiritualize their minds, and to make every one in some respect useful in furthering the welfare of the whole community. Sympathy is a powerful principle in the human breast: and the sight of others devoutly occupied in holy exercises, is calculated to quicken the drowsy soul. The very circumstance of multitudes meeting together with raised expectations and heavenly affections, must operate like an assemblage of burning coals, all of which are instrumental to the kindling of others, while they receive in themselves fresh ardour from the contact.

" A further benefit from the appointment of the Sabbath is, that the attention of all must necessarily be directed to the eternal Sabbath, which awaits them at the expiration of their appointed week of labour. Each revolving Sabbath, freed from the distractions of worldly care, and attended, not merely with bodily rest, but with a rest of the soul in God, must be to them an earnest and foretaste of heaven itself. Well therefore does Nehemiah number the Sabbath among the richest benefits which God had conferred upon his chosen people.]"

" But as some have thought the Sabbath to be a mere Jewish institution, which, like the rest of the ceremonial law, is abrogated and annulled, we shall proceed to shew,

"II. The continuance of its obligation—

"That there was something *ceremonial* in the Jewish Sabbath, we readily acknowledge: but there was something *moral* also; and therefore, as to the moral part of it, it must, of necessity, be of perpetual obligation. To remove all doubt on this important subject, consider,

"1. The time of its institution—

"[Some have thought that the mention which is made of the Sabbath in the words before us, was merely by anticipation; and that the appointment never took place till the days of Moses. But if this were the case, how came Moses to specify the circumstance of God's resting on the seventh day as the reason of that appointment? It would have been a good reason for our first parents and their immediate descendants to hallow the seventh day; but it could be no reason at all to those who lived almost five-and-twenty hundred years after the event; more especially when so obvious and cogent a reason as their deliverance out of Egypt was assigned at the very same time. But if the command given to the Jews was a repetition of the injunction given to Adam, then there is an obvious propriety in assigning the reason that was obligatory upon all, as well as that which formed an additional obligation on the Jewish nation in particular.

"Besides, there are traces of a Sabbath from the beginning of the world. For, if no Sabbath had ever been given, whence came the practice of measuring time by weeks? yet that custom obtained both in the patriarchal and antediluvian ages: and therefore, since it accords so exactly with what was afterwards instituted by divine authority, we may well infer its original appointment by God himself. And if its obligation existed so many ages before the ceremonial law was given, then must it continue to exist after that law is abolished.]"

"2. The manner of its re-establishment—

"[Notwithstanding the long continuance of the Jews in Egypt, the remembrance of the Sabbath was not effaced: for Moses, *before the giving of the law*, speaks of the Sabbath as an institution known and received among them. And, *without any express direction*, they gathered on the sixth day a double portion of manna to serve them on the Sabbath; which they would not have done, if they had not thought the observance of the Sabbath to be of the first importance.

"Nevertheless, for the more effectual maintenance of its authority, God judged it necessary to publish it to them again, both upon the original grounds, and on other special grounds peculiar to that people. And how did he publish it? Did he deliver it to Moses in the same manner as he did the *ceremonial* law? No: he wrote it with his own finger in tables of stone, and embodied it with the *moral* law. Surely this affords a very strong presumption that God himself considered its duties, not as ceremonial, limited, and transient, but as moral, universal, and permanent.]"

"3. The confirmation of it by the prophets—

"[That its obligations should be sanctioned by the prophets, we might well expect; because they lived under the authority of the Jewish law. The mere circumstance, therefore, of their insisting on the observation of the Sabbath would prove nothing. But their speaking of the Sabbath, as to be observed under the Christian dispensation, very strongly corroborates the perpetuity of its obligations. Now the prophet Isaiah does speak of the Sabbath in such a connexion, that we cannot doubt of its referring to the times of the Gospel: and he represents the 'keeping of the Sabbath' as no less necessary to our happiness, than 'the laying hold of Christ's righteousness and salvation.' We can scarcely think that the prophet would have so strongly marked the continuance of the Sabbath, if its obligations were to cease with the ceremonial law.]"

"4. The observation of it by the Apostles—

"[The precise day on which the Jews kept their Sabbath was indeed changed; and the first day of the week was substituted for the seventh. This was done in order to commemorate the resurrection of our blessed Lord; an event, the most interesting that ever occurred from the foundation of the world; an event which proved, beyond all doubt, the Messiahship of Jesus, and has served from that time as the corner-stone

of all our hopes. When Israel was brought out of Egypt, God, in order to commemorate that deliverance, changed the commencement of the year from the Autumn to the Spring: can we wonder then, that, in remembrance of an infinitely greater deliverance, he should alter the day on which the Sabbath had been observed? It was in the appropriation of a seventh part of our time to God, that the morality of the Sabbath consisted; and that is preserved under the Christian, as much as under the Jewish economy.

"This change was sanctioned by our blessed Lord, who *repeatedly selected that day* for the more public exhibition of himself to his disciples; and on that day sent down the Holy Ghost upon them; in order that the application, as well as the completion of his redemption, might give a further sanctity to the new-appointed day.

"From that time the first day of the week was invariably observed for the public services of the church; and, to stamp peculiar honour upon it, it was distinguished by that endearing name, 'The Lord's day.'

"Who that weighs all these arguments, can doubt the continued obligation of the Sabbath?]"

"For the regulation of our conduct on the Sabbath, we should inquire into,

"III. The nature of its requirements—

"The same *kind* of strictness is not required of us as was enjoined under the law—

"[We have before said, that there was something of a ceremonial nature in the Jewish Sabbath. The Jews in the wilderness were not permitted to leave their habitations on the Sabbath-day, except to assemble for divine worship; and the portion of manna which they gathered on the preceding day for the consumption of that day, was, for the space of forty years, kept fit for their use upon the Sabbath by a constant miracle, on purpose that they might have no excuse for transgressing the divine command. They were forbidden even to kindle a fire on the Sabbath-day, or to do any species of servile work. But all this rigour is not necessary now: it was suited to the burthensome dispensation of the law; but not to the more liberal dispensation under which we live. Indeed, our blessed Lord has shewn us clearly that works of necessity, or of mercy, may be performed on that as well as any other day. Being himself 'the Lord of the Sabbath-day,' he dispensed with those rites which were merely temporary, and requires of us such services only as a spiritual mind will most delight in.]"

"*Our* sanctification of the Sabbath should consist rather in mental than in bodily exercises—

"[What are the proper employments for our minds, the prophet Isaiah has plainly told us: 'We should account the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable; and should honour him, not doing our own ways, nor finding our own pleasure, nor speaking our own words.' We should endeavour to have our thoughts abstracted from the world, and to fix them with intenseness and delight on heavenly objects. On every day we should present to God our sacrifices of prayer and praise: but as, under the law, the accustomed sacrifices, both of the morning and evening, were doubled upon the Sabbath, so, under the Gospel, we should have our minds doubly occupied in the service of our God.]"

"The subject before us suggests ample matter,

"1. For reproof—

"[Many, very many there are, who hate the duties of the Sabbath; and, breaking through all the restraints of conscience, follow without remorse their usual occupations. Others, complying with the established forms, cry, 'What a weariness is it!' 'When shall the Sabbath be over, that I may prosecute more pleasing or more profitable employments?' When they come up to the house of God, they find no pleasure in his service, but are rather, like Doeg, 'detained before the Lord.' Some, indeed, conceiving that they are doing somewhat meritorious, spend without reluctance the time allotted for public service; but though 'they draw nigh to God with their lips, their hearts are far from him.' It is not such worshippers that God seeks or approves; nor is such the sanctification of the Sabbath that he requires. On the contrary, he is in-

dignant against all such profaneness or hypocrisy; and declares that 'such persons worship him in vain.' Whatever such persons may imagine, they indeed profane the Sabbath. And what the consequence will be, they may form some judgment, from the punishment inflicted on the man who gathered sticks upon the Sabbath-day. By God's express command, he was stoned to death. If, then, so heavy a sentence was executed upon him by the direction of the Most High, can we suppose that God is more indifferent about the conduct of his creatures now? or that he has loaded them with mercies for no other end than to give them a greater licence to sin? Let us well consider this: for 'if they, who despised Moses' law, died without mercy, surely a far sorer punishment awaits us,' if, with our additional obligations, we disregard the wonders of redeeming love.]"

"2. For encouragement—

"[Not only personal, but even national judgments may be expected for the violation of the Sabbath. But, on the other hand, every blessing may be expected, both by individuals and the community, if the Sabbath be habitually and conscientiously improved. Indeed, it seems almost impossible that any one who sets himself in earnest to improve the Sabbath-day, should ever perish. God would bless to such an one the ordinances of his grace; and rather send him instruction in some extraordinary way, than suffer him to use the means in vain. We can appeal to all who have ever laboured to sanctify the Sabbath, whether they have not found their labour well repaid? Surely 'God has never said to any, 'Seek ye my face in vain:' and the more diligently we keep his Sabbaths below, the more shall we be fitted for our eternal rest.]" (P. 21—27.)

The manner in which the work is conducted, being thus exemplified, we proceed to state that the peculiar object of the author, throughout his work, as to the exposition of the Holy Scripture, is to follow undauntedly wherever the sacred writers lead, without being solicitous to reduce every part of his instruction to the ramifications of any human system. He has indeed, in his own mind, a strong conception, and a fervent belief of the great truths of Revelation; and even with respect to those of the Divine purposes, which are least frequently propounded in Scripture, he appears to have formed his judgment of the general meaning of the language of Revelation; yet he does not make his opinions on these topics the standard of his instruction, but the Bible itself from which he deduces them. His theology is not composed of certain propositions drawn from the Scriptures, to which propositions he adjusts all the varied language of the Bible; but of the Bible itself in all its amplitude and simplicity, to which he compels his particular sentiments to yield. It is not a human system cramping and constraining the Bible, but the Bible suggesting and defining a human system. He has come, indeed, to conclusions in his own breast as to the mind of God in almost every part of Scripture; but he is not so sure that he is right in coming to those conclusions, as he is in implicitly adopting all the language of Holy Writ, whether he can perceive its consistency with his own interpretation or not.

This is a matter of so great moment, that we must be permitted to develope our sentiment a little; our readers who are not

disposed to enter on a brief and calm consideration of a theological topic, will pardon us for the sake of those who are. The fault, then, of all minute and rigid systems of theology appears to us to be that of placing in an undue prominence, and employing in an undue manner, certain parts of the Holy Scriptures; so as to render the whole cast of our sentiments rather the expression of those certain parts, than the fair illustration of the whole tenor of the Bible. The doctrine of the fall and corruption of our nature, for example, has been often so stated as virtually to expunge all the numerous passages of Holy Writ, which evidently suppose some remains of moral feeling in man, some appetency after what is good, man's responsibility and obligation to the Divine law, his duty to repent and believe the gospel—in short, his moral nature, and capability of being restored to the image of his Maker. The Biblical Divine, if we may be allowed the phrase, to distinguish him from the strictly Calvinistic or Arminian student, will hold indeed, to their utmost latitude, the parts of Holy Writ, which describe the ruin and impotency of man; but he will, at the same time, admit and employ all the other parts, however apparently inconsistent, which relate to his accountableness and duty. He will not force the numerous passages of the Bible on this subject to speak the sense of his doctrine, but so hold his doctrine, that it may yield to the gentlest touch of Scripture, and acquire richness and maturity in his mind, by the fresh commixture of every heavenly ingredient gathered in his studies of sacred writ. He will not deny any of the separate branches of the subject—he will not overlook—he will not weaken or palliate—he will not remedy one error by passing over to the opposite—he will not be tenacious of his own explication, so far as it is his own—he will not be overanxious to reconcile every difficulty—but, leaving matters as God has left them, he will be desirous to let things lie in his mind, as they lie in Scripture—nor endeavour to be clearer than the Bible.

The total corruption of our nature, however, is not the doctrine on which the greatest agitations have arisen; the Divine predestination, special grace, and the perseverance of the true Christian in the paths of holiness unto the end of life, have been much more fruitful sources of theological contention. On these questions the follower of human systems takes a decided part; he dwells copiously on the texts which favour his own hypothesis; he moves awkwardly when he has to treat those which he thinks oppose it; he argues in a hazardous, and sometimes almost impious manner, on the reasons why the Almighty should act as he supposes him to have done; his sentiments stand out prominently from the level of his general instruction, and, in

fact, are extremely different from the general tenor of Scripture, and even from the texts whence he has inferred them, and which are ever surrounded with the holy objects, and humiliating, or qualifying, or at least explanatory, statements of the sacred writers. In consequence of this excess on the one side, an equal excess is generated on the other. The points which the one party exaggerates, the other conceals. Each side argues from the supposed consequences flowing from the statements of the other; Christian charity is wounded; distance and suspicion take place between fellow labourers; and much, very much of the best influence of real Christianity is neutralized.

It is here that the eminent advantage of the school of Divinity in which our author is a proficient, appears. He endeavours to take in all that plainly rests on Scriptural authority in both systems, leaving the rigid lines of demarcation, and employing every part of Scripture, without partiality or compromise, for the ends, in the proportion, and with the bearings and connection which he finds in that Divine record. Not only the matters united, but the manner of the union—the fibula—is with him of supreme importance. He considers his Bible, not as a code of statutes, but a spirit of laws, to adopt the expression of a great female writer,* where fidelity appears not merely in obeying certain maxims or declarations, but also in imbibing a right feeling, transcribing the just emotions, and conveying the exact lineaments, and beauty, and harmony of the figure which he professes to copy. In this manner, he not only occupies, if we may so speak, the military posts, and chief fortresses of the land, but expatiates also over the champaign country, reposes in the verdant meads, and contemplates with delight the rich and exuberant scenery, for the preservation of which the fortifications were reared.

Nor is it at all necessary that, in order to this, he should have no opinion on the higher matters of doctrine, or rather on the passages which speak of them; much less that he should never allude to them in his public instructions. This would be to arraign the Divine wisdom as to the parts of the Bible which he would thus pass over—and would certainly fail both of satisfying the humble faith of the sincere Christian, and of guarding against the dangerous perversions, and even heresies of others. We know it has been maintained, that a neutrality, or silence on these mysterious points, is the wisest conclusion to which we can come. But the plain answer is, that the Bible is neither neutral nor silent. Our discourses cannot, as an entire course of instruction, resemble those of the Apostle Paul, if they utterly

* Mrs. Hannah More.

conceal the truths which that Divine author published. We speak of the established and advanced minister, in the ordinary duties of his charge—because for youth—for the circumstances of a new station—for a thousand other contingencies, we yield all the exceptions that can be asked. We maintain only, that the Bible student will embrace in his doctrine all the tenets of the inspired code. He will not only teach the apparently opposite truths, but all that lies between them; neither occupying the intermediate space to the exclusion of the boundaries, nor standing always upon the boundaries in the attitude of defence or defiance. We know not that we can better express what we mean by the unsophisticated subjection of the mind to the Scriptures than by referring to the beautiful image of Lord Bacon, when speaking of the doctrine of inspired theology, and of a treatise which he considered as wanting for the illustration of it, "Certainly, as those wines which flow from the first treading of the grape are sweeter and better than those forced out by the press, which gives them the roughness of the husk and the stone; so are those doctrines best and wholesomest which flow from a gentle crush of the Scripture, and are not wrung into controversies or common-place. And this treatise we set down as wanting, under the title of the First Flowings of the Scriptures."

The advantages of pursuing this course are too obvious to need any exact enumeration. The rigid adherent to system can never make any considerable improvements in his instructions. His unbending tenets assume a bristling and perpetually hostile form. He is in danger of violating the laws of charity and peace on almost every occasion. A spirit of party almost invariably follows; a disposition to judge of persons and things by their agreement with him in his peculiarities, rather than by their intrinsic worth. But the *biblical* divine, possessing all the benefits of human systems, avoids their defects. The language and spirit of the Scriptures are his study. His articles of faith on all fundamental points, indeed, are firmly fixed; but on subordinate and doubtful matters, they lie open to constant improvement: and even as to fundamental doctrines, the way of stating such doctrines, the connexion subsisting between them, the bearings, proportion, and consequences of them, are all points of his perpetual study. As the effect of this method, charity towards all his fellow Christians is the inmate of his bosom. Where other conscientious and scriptural students differ from him, the difference is incomparably less, both in itself and in its consequences, than it would otherwise have been; because in the tone and spirit, and uses, and general inferences, they still as nearly as possible agree. In short, this way of study presents the fairest ground for union of heart that

has been ever yet proposed; because it reduces the points of difference, and magnifies those of agreement, in a proportion scarcely conceivable. And in the present day, the importance of pursuing this course is greatly increased by considering the aspect of religion in our own country and in the world, and the mighty efforts which are now made by the union of different confessions of Christians in a common cause. Were the Bible-divinity more generally followed, the distinctions in the church would not be taken from the Calvinistical, or Arminian, or Baxterian, or any other hypothesis, but would fall back on the Scriptural classification of the righteous and the wicked; those who are dead in sin, and those who are alive to God; the law, and the gospel; the life, and the form of piety; the worldly, and the spiritual minister; that is, on the grand and immoveable distinctions fixed by the nature and holiness of God, and the character and state of man.

No act of obedience to God can more immediately follow from a real faith in Holy Scripture, than that which leads us to submit our understanding, as well as our heart, to Divine Revelation; which allows sincerely and honestly that God is wiser than man; which admits our inability to improve the Bible; which considers every page of Scripture, not only to be true, but to be the very exact truth, precisely what it should be, and capable of no addition or diminution without injury and mischief; which practically admits human ignorance and impotency and blindness; and with a trembling hand joins together those vast and incomprehensible truths, so far as is necessary or agreeable to the general analogy of faith, but ventures not to pronounce the connexion infallible, or the system complete, or the adhesion of clay and iron of equal value with the imperishable materials which they unite. A man swimming in the Atlantic might as justly fear to strike his one hand against Europe and the other against America, as the feeble expositor of Holy Writ to dash against the real boundaries of truth, whilst he follows fearlessly the language of the Almighty. To "wrest the Scriptures" is as easy as it is criminal and mischievous; but to renounce all parties as guides, and to allow the stream of Scripture to carry us along wherever it flows, this is faith; this honours the God of wisdom; this places man in his only safe position, as the pupil and not the teacher, the humble expositor and not the judge of what God has revealed.

We have dwelt at the greater length on this important topic, because it seems to us to be the peculiar bearing and object of this work, and to give it, in fact, its principal value: nor, indeed, are we aware of any previous writer who has placed this as his object full before him, and has pursued it through a long and useful series of popular discourses.

Of the particular manner in which our author has executed his undertaking we must now proceed to speak. It would be in vain to suppose that an equal degree of success has attended the composition of twelve hundred sermons. We can truly say, and we say it with great pleasure, that in the most important qualities of discourses for the pulpit, these sermons possess extraordinary merit. There is a seriousness, a fidelity, a warmth, an appeal to the conscience and heart, an unblushing avowal of truth, which will render them highly useful as an example and guide for the younger clergy. In another important pre-requisite, a knowledge of Scripture and an apt reference to the appropriate passages for illustrating a subject, our author is really excellent. We are not sure whether the texts quoted for confirmation of his topics do not, on the whole, form one of the prime recommendations of the entire work; they are always important, frequently happy, sometimes even rich and surprising.

The choice of texts for discussion throughout the several books of Scripture is, generally speaking, judicious, and apparently impartial.

The plans on which the discourses are framed are commonly perspicuous and appropriate, and are as much varied as the case would well admit. The applications, or perorations, especially, often excel in a pointed, natural, and powerful address to the heart, and are, at the same time, constructed with great skill in respect to form and illustration.

A work of such an unusual length must have been the fruit of unusual diligence: of this many of the sermons bear the most evident proofs; and the most hasty review of the general subjects of them will convince any reader, that there is scarcely a topic of doctrinal or practical divinity which our author has not touched upon. Of the names and characters of our Saviour, and the events of his life, there are numerous and most valuable illustrations; some in express discourses, others incidental and cursory. Of the fall of man, of the evil of sin, of the law, of the covenant of works and the covenant of grace, of man's accountableness, of justification by faith, of regeneration and conversion by the Holy Ghost, of obedience to God, of prayer, faith, love, hope, joy, patience, resignation, watchfulness, separation from the world, support in affliction, consolation in death, and the joys of heaven, these volumes treat copiously. Salvation by grace is, however, as it ought to be, the prominent topic throughout. The chief characters in Scripture, with the principal events in the patriarchal and Jewish history, are made the subjects of separate discussion. The types and prophecies, the miracles and parables, the warnings and exhortations, the

promises and examples of Holy Writ, are, moreover, proposed and discussed, so far as these subjects were not exhausted in the former volumes. For almost every occasion to which the duties of the minister may call on us to be prepared, the author has, moreover, furnished us with valuable aid. The festivals and fasts of our church, the seasons of the year, the great religious societies, charitable institutions, the different periods of human life, and the solemn close of it, have also an appropriate provision made for them.

Nor can we forbear adding, that in the management of these various topics, and in the general construction of the discourses, the present volumes are by far more laboured and better worthy the attention of the public, than the former ones. Those of our readers who have made themselves pretty well acquainted with our author's five volumes of 1796 and 1801-2, will, we are persuaded, be agreeably surprized at the advance in all the main qualifications of the successful preacher which he has made. The present series of discourses has a stamp of higher excellence—there is more richness of thought, more knowledge of human character, more maturity of judgment, more variety of illustration, more vigour of sentiment, more softness of compassion, more depth of piety than in the preceding volumes. The sermons also, are, for the most part, longer and better filled up, so as to raise the work altogether to a higher order and different rank of composition; and to render it more valuable and useful than the five other volumes.

It is of course impossible for us to present our readers with any thing like a detail of such a copious store of theological topics. We will advert to a few leading points.

On the main characteristic endeavour of the whole work, Biblicism, if such a word may be forgiven, we find perpetual examples of the most free and unfettered discussions of man's fall and impotency, and of his duty and obligation to repent; of the universal redemption by Christ, and its efficacy to the believer only; of the importance of the sacraments, and yet their inutility if improperly relied on; of justification by faith alone, and the necessity of abounding in every good work; of the Divine purposes, and man's free agency; of the promises of God to the humble Christian that he shall continue unto the end, and the cautions, warnings, and alarms, which are addressed to him. On this latter topic we are disposed to think the merits of our author to be more considerable than on some others; and we mention it, because, after all, it is perhaps the most important point in the practice and application of religion, and that on which, theoretically, divines have been found the most widely to differ. Our author, holding, as he does, the doctrine

of the perseverance of the sincere Christian in faith and holiness, and conceiving this to be secured by the promises of God and the intercession of the Mediator, still uses without hesitation or constraint all the hortatory and alarming language which the Scriptures furnish.

In No. 117, on Numbers xx. 27, 28, the death of Aaron is considered. The discourse is altogether good. The second head, which treats of The Surrender of Aaron's Soul, is subdivided into the three observations, that, 1. The occasion was awful. 2. The manner was dignified. 3. The event was honourable.—These are simple and important topics. Under the first, we meet this passage:

"Aaron had sinned; and for that sin he must die. We doubt not indeed that he found mercy before God; but still he died on account of his transgression; his death was the punishment of sin. This, in fact, is true respecting every one that dies: though in some respects death may be numbered among the Christian's treasures, yet in other points of view it must still be regarded as an enemy, and a punishment for sin. In this light it must be considered even by the most exalted Christian, no less than by the most ungodly; 'his body is dead because of sin, even though his spirit be alive because of righteousness.'

"But in the death of this eminent saint we have a most instructive lesson. It was doubtless intended as a warning to all who profess themselves the servants of God. Like Lot's wife, it speaks to all succeeding generations, and declares the danger of departing from God. No length of services will avail us any thing, if as last we yield to temptation, and 'fall from our own steadfastness.' The death of Aaron shadowed forth that truth which is plainly declared by the prophet Ezekiel, that 'if a righteous man turn away from his righteousness and commit iniquity, all his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned; but in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die.' Many there are, who, from an attachment to human systems and a zeal for truths of an apparently opposite nature, would almost expunge this passage from the sacred volume: but, whether we can reconcile it with other passages or not, it is true; and every one of us shall find it true at last, that not he who runneth well for a season, but 'he who endureth unto the end, shall be saved.'"

Nor is this all. Throughout the volumes wherever passages of warning or threatening occur, they are freely treated. Let the Sermon on Col. i. 21—23. (No. 1049, vol. x.) afford a specimen. The subject is, Sanctification the End of Redemption. The heads are devoted to the consideration, 1. Of what the Lord Jesus has done for us. 2. What was his ultimate design in doing it. 3. What is necessary to be done on our part, in order to secure the blessings which he has obtained for us. Under this last division we read as follows:

"Those who are addicted to system would alter the translation here, and read it, not, '*if* ye continue,' but '*since* ye continue.' But this is only one instance of many, wherein the advocates for human systems betray their determination to make every thing bend to their views. The Translators of our Scriptures would indulge no such unhallowed partiality. They would in no case wrest the Scriptures to make them favour a party in the Church. They maintained a child-like simplicity; and with scrupulous fidelity laboured to transmit to

us the Scriptures in a perfect agreement with the inspired original. Of the propriety of the translation in this place I have no doubt; it is the very language of the Scriptures, in a thousand other places as well as this; and it speaks to us a most important truth, namely, that we never can be presented blameless before God at last, unless we continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel.

"1. It was by faith that we first obtained an interest in Christ—

"It would have been to no purpose that Christ had died to reconcile us to God, if we had not on our part believed in him as Mediator and Redeemer. The unbelieving world who die in their sins, are rather plunged the deeper into perdition, than delivered from it, by the intervention of Christ. Their rejection of him has aggravated their guilt exceedingly: and the word preached to them in his name, will be 'a savour of death unto all to whom it is not a savour of life.' The receiving of him into our hearts by faith puts us into possession of all the blessings which he had purchased for us."

"2. By the continued exercise of the same faith we must ultimately secure the harvest of which we have reaped the first-fruits—

"'As we have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so we must walk in him.' We must 'continue in faith grounded and settled, and not be moved away from the hope of the Gospel.' It is a fact, that many do make shipwreck of the faith. The Scriptures abound with instances of it: and we also shall feel many temptations, both from without and from within, to follow their sad example. Like the stony-ground hearers, we may through the influence of persecution 'fall away:' or, as in the case of the thorny-ground hearers, the good seed in us may be so choked by the cares and pleasures of this life, as to 'bring forth no fruit to perfection.' And, from whatever source the defection arises, 'if we turn back, we turn back unto perdition,' and 'God's soul shall have no pleasure in us.' Would we then be 'presented faultless before the presence of God's glory with exceeding joy?' we must 'hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering:' we must be more and more 'grounded' in the faith by a constant exercise of it on every occasion: we must be so firmly 'settled' in it, that a man may as well attempt to pluck the sun from the firmament, as to shake either our faith or hope. This is the way to 'endure unto the end;' and it is in this way only that we can fulfil that salutary injunction, 'Look to yourselves, that ye lose not the things which ye have wrought, but that ye receive a full reward.'"

After these remarks, we may further observe, that with regard to the general spirit of the Gospel, and the characteristics of Evangelical religion, there are two discourses of much excellence. Psalm cxix. 128, vol. iv. No. 426; and 1 Cor. ii. 2, vol. ix. No. 955, to which the author refers in his preface, as containing a brief abstract of his sentiments. In the first, he considers the Christian character as delineated in his text, and the light which it reflects on the Gospel of Christ. The true Christian character is distinguished from the merely nominal by loving *all* God's commands. The true Christian loves all God's precepts, both those which are evangelical and those which are moral; he loves them as perfective of his nature, and conducive to his happiness. From these topics, the second head proceeds to answer those objectors who misrepresent the Gospel as if it superseded the necessity of good works; to rebuke those who would abuse the Gospel, and who have no relish for the holiness and obedience of the doctrine of

Christ; and to exhort true Christians to adorn their holy profession. All this appears to us to be solid and edifying. Indeed, it would be an advantage, we think, to a candid person who should for the first time take up these volumes, to read not only this and No. 955, but a Series of Eleven Discourses which, the author informs us, contain all the topics which he considers of fundamental importance. They are Nos. 134, 135, 136, 137, 426, 955, 964, 965, 966, 967, 979. We will briefly sketch their contents. The first four discuss the doctrines of the Liturgy; and after a vindication of it as lawful and expedient, as not necessarily generating formality, and as not containing any expressions which should deter a conscientious person from giving his unfeigned assent and consent to it, proceed to display its excellency, its spirituality, its fulness, its suitableness, its moderation and candour; and conclude by an examination of the professions, promises, and prayers of the Ordination service. No. 426, we have already noticed. No. 955, on Christ Crucified, from 1 Cor. ii. 2, explains the resolution of the Apostle, to preach a Crucified Saviour as the ground of our hopes, and the motive to our obedience; and enforces the resolution because it contained all that he was commissioned to declare; all that could conduce to the happiness of man; and because nothing could be added to it without weakening or destroying its efficacy. The four following Discourses on 1 Cor. x. 15, are entitled, an Appeal to Men of Wisdom and Candour; and after laying down the proposition that to the truly wise the Gospel recommends itself as a Revelation and a remedy, and exhorting such to form their judgment with care, to exercise it with candour, and to implore of God the enlightening and sanctifying influence of his spirit, that they might be preserved from error, and guided into all truth; the discussion of the doctrines of human corruption, of regeneration, and of justification by faith, is undertaken and conducted with much talent and moderation. The last sermon is on 2 Cor. i. 13, and is entitled the Churchman's Confession, and contains an Appeal to the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, on the topics of our lost estate, the means of our recovery, and the path of duty.

We have noticed these Discourses, as we think them, on the whole, amongst the best and most useful in the work; and we cannot but hope that they will ensure the favorable attention of the reader to the entire volumes, of which they are not only a part, but as it were the Key and Introduction.

We will only further say in this part of our observations, that perhaps the following Discourses may be considered amongst the best. In vol. i. No. 2, 74, 77; in vol. ii. 105, 113, 117; in

vol. iii. 249, 275, 304, 311; in vol. iv. 344, 370, 372, 373; in vol. v. 493, 545; in vol. vi. 560, 589, 652; in vol. vii. 667, 773, 774; in vol. viii. 816, 817, 893; in vol. ix. 909, 930; in vol. x. 1097, 1109; in vol. xi. 1146, 1168, 1182.

In proceeding to point out what appears to us the defects of this work, we need not say, that to compose 1200 Discourses must lay open any author to the assaults and animadversions of critics. The remarks we may offer, then, are rather to satisfy the claims of candour and equity, than materially to detract from the value which we decidedly attach to this production as a whole.

It will be obvious to an attentive reader, that our author has an intensely ardent mind. Whatever idea he would express, he expresses with warmth and eagerness. Over-statement, therefore, chiefly on subordinate topics, we think a considerable defect of the work—not as it regards the great doctrines and duties of Christianity, for here no ardour can be excessive—on these points we think him decidedly right—but as it respects the explication of separate thoughts, and the inculcation of minute and difficult questions. The danger which would otherwise arise from this excess, is, moreover, very much neutralized by the leading characteristic of the work, to which we have before adverted—it's biblicism. Still the thing in itself requires animadversion. And, especially as it may be imitated by the younger clergy, without the attendant correctives found in our author, it becomes our duty as critics to point it out.

In the first place, then, this over-eagerness of mind leads to the use of expressions too positive and strong for the occasion, and having the appearance of arrogance. If our author speaks of a Jew as a monument of the Divine Judgment, we are informed of it, not in the appropriate terms which any other writer would use, but in such language as this, "There is no creature under Heaven, from the sight of whom we may derive greater good than from the sight of a Jew," vol. vi. p. 431. If the reproach attached to the serious and consistent profession of the Gospel is alluded to, we are informed, "That what was said of the Christians of the first ages is equally true at this day, 'we know that this sect is every where spoken against,'" vi. 39. If a particular image is touched on, no image is so forcible throughout the whole Scripture; thus human life in Psalm xcix. 5, being compared to a handbreadth, we read; "A great variety of other images are used in Scripture to convey this truth; life is compared to a shuttle which passes quickly through the loom; to a ship which soon passes and leaves no trace behind it; to an eagle, which, with the rapidity

of lightning, hasteth to its prey; but the image in our text is more striking than them all; because, whilst it is peculiarly simple, it is also practical, embodied, portable," vol. iv. 133. We need not multiply examples. We think it quite obvious, that the above, and a thousand similar expressions, are by far too strong, and, in truth, lose in their effect on a considerate mind, by that very circumstance. Let strong and energetic language be reserved for great occasions, and not wasted on minute or doubtful ones.

In the next place, a modification, as we suspect, of the same excessive ardour of mind, leads the author to push his formal arrangements of his subjects to harshness, and sometimes to inaccuracy, and once or twice to what may have the appearance of irreverence.

The plan of the 110th Psalm, fine as the theme presented was, we think, sadly managed. The main heads are, I. The person of Christ. II. His offices. This is surely an inadequate division, considering that the first head rests only on the introductory clause of the Psalm. But the subdivisions of the second head are yet worse—they consider Christ as a prophet, a priest, and a king. The whole error of this plan probably arose from the too intense desire of preserving a neat arrangement, to which in this case the spirit, and in some part the sense of the Psalmist is sacrificed.

Where no error is incurred by the excessive love of rigid arrangement, undue prominence is often given to certain particulars, and a harshness introduced into the character of the Sermon. In a Discourse on Isaiah xii. 3, "*With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation;*" the beauty and bloom of the passage seem to us nearly lost by such a division as the following: 1. The character by which the Scriptures are here designated: as 1. containing in themselves all the blessings of salvation; 2. as revealing them for our use; 3. as actually imparting them to our souls, &c. &c.

In like manner, the noble passage, Luke xvi. 29—31, "*Abraham said unto him, They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. And he said, Nay, Father Abraham; but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead*"—is totally lost and enervated, by the following harsh and inappropriate arrangement. I. The use and office of the Holy Scriptures—because they guide men to heaven—and for this end are fully sufficient. II. The hopeless state of those who disregard them—because even a messenger from the dead would be of no avail: 1, To convince the unbelieving: 2, to court the impenitent.

But we have further to object to the minuteness, and even occasionally the fancifulness, which appears in his explication of the types. We attribute to the characteristic ardour of our author's mind this fault, as well as the preceding. In the following passage, it is impossible to avoid condemning the excess of typical application.

"Now Moses was the person who, by God's appointment, had put the priestly garments on Aaron, forty years before; and he also was the person appointed to strip them off. Was this an accidental circumstance, without any mystical design? Can we suppose that, in a dispensation which was altogether figurative, such a singular fact as this was devoid of meaning? No: it was replete with instruction. We dread exceedingly the indulgence of fancy in interpreting the Scriptures, but we are persuaded that a very deep mystery was shadowed forth on this occasion. Moses was the representative of the law, as Aaron was of our great High Priest. Now it was the law which made any priesthood necessary. If the law had not existed, there had been no transgression: if that had not denounced a curse for sin, there had been no need of an High Priest to make atonement for sin: and if there had been no need of a *real* sacrifice, there had been no occasion for either a priesthood or sacrifices to *shadow* it forth. The law then called forth, if I may so speak, the Lord Jesus Christ to his office: and therefore Moses put the priestly garments on him who was to prefigure Christ. But the same law which rendered a *real* atonement necessary, made the *figurative* priesthood wholly ineffectual: its demands were too high to be satisfied with mere carnal ordinances: there was nothing in a ceremonial observance that could be accepted as a fulfilment of its injunctions; nor was there any thing in the blood of a beast that could compensate for the violation of them: therefore, to shew that nothing but the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ could be of any avail, the same hand that put the shadowy garments upon Aaron must strip them off again." (Vol. ii. p. 91.)

The instances of what appears to us overstatement in the adaptation of the types are numerous, and we are not quite sure whether they do not constitute a principal defect of this part of the work.

In the exposition of Scripture imagery, again, occasional excesses are found. We doubt whether the following text was prudently selected in the first instance, considering the very different associations which the figure would excite in the breasts of the Jews, from those which it cannot fail to call up in the present state of society. Possibly such a passage would have been better treated incidentally, than made the prominent subject of an entire discourse. We refer to Amos, ii. 13. "Behold, I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves." We ask our author, whether such language as the following can easily be acquitted of irreverence. "See then the grounds of complaint which God has against us, and say whether the assiduity of harvest-men in loading their carts with their sheaves does not too much resemble us, who are thus incessantly loading God with our iniquities, till he can bear us no more: yea, we help and encourage each other in the work, as if we were afraid that we could not otherwise heap up upon him a sufficient load?" (Vol. vi. p. 371.)

Whilst we are speaking of what seems to have some appearance of irreverence, we may mention that at times an argument is pushed so far as to incur, however unintentionally, this censure. We confess we scruple at such language as this: "With humble reverence we may say, that the benefit reaches even to Christ himself; for as in all the afflictions of his people he is afflicted, so in all their consolations also he is comforted. Further, if further we can go, even God the Father also is made a partaker of the benefit." Vol. viii. p. 891.

But it is not only by excess in the illustration of the Scriptures that our author errs. We have met with some discourses in which he appears to us to have missed the prominent beauty of the text. No. cviii. on Numbers xiv. 24, "*But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereunto he went; and his seed shall possess it,*"—quite sinks one of the chief peculiarities of Caleb's example, "*his having another spirit with him,*" and dwells almost exclusively on the other parts of the passage. Again, the fine prediction, Micah v. 7, "*The remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men,*"—is deprived of almost all its beautiful and exquisite imagery in our author's explication of it.

With respect to the merits of this work, as it regards what may be called Biblical criticism, we shall not say much. If by criticism be meant a laborious and honest investigation of the chief meaning of each passage under consideration, which is the most important use of critical powers, we think very highly of this work. The sense, generally speaking, is given—the context examined—the beauty of the Scriptures elucidated—apparent contradictions reconciled, and different authorities weighed. Especially the SPIRIT of every text is followed, and generally with success; and the separate sentiments or expressions, or allusions, are admirably wrought in during the discussion. The criticism of sound sense, of piety, of labour, of much knowledge of the human heart, of skill in sermon-writing, of an intention simple and pure, and a devotion elevated and fervent, abounds in these volumes. And we really speak our sentiments when we say, that the critical science of particular words and phrases, is, in a work like our author's, of inferior moment. At the same time we must honestly express our conviction, that the attempts at verbal criticism which are scattered in the notes throughout these volumes are far from being satisfactory. We could have done better without them. The result of the author's study was all we wanted; but if he must give us critical notes,

they should have been submitted to the severe eye of some exercised scholar before they were permitted to appear. They are frequently doubtful, and sometimes decidedly wrong.

The brief note, vol. vii. p. 89, "The salt sea is the Dead Sea," has, to our understandings, neither meaning nor force. That in p. 135, "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; that is, that ye resist not *the injurious person*," is worse; because if we depart at all from the English translation, we must render, τῷ πονηρῷ, the Evil One, that is, Satan, as Bp. Middleton on the Greek article, has well remarked. The observation, p. 161, "πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι seems to convey the idea of players on a stage," is as bad; the true meaning is certainly to be gathered from the correspondent expression "in secret," and has no immediate reference to the drama.

We take these samples almost at hazard. Where the endeavour reaches to the construction of passages, the success is still more dubious. On Rom. v. 1—5, it is proposed to include in a parenthesis the words, "Knowing that tribulation worketh," &c. and to read the sense thus, "We glory in tribulation also; knowing, &c. &c.; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, &c." A reading too harsh and violent, to rest on the slight grounds which are adduced, even if we speak of the English Testament only; but absolutely inadmissible if the Greek construction be consulted. A reading equally forced is proposed on Gal. ii. 20; and again on 1 Thes. i. 2—4. These sorts of errors seem to us to arise from a forgetfulness of the extreme difference of the genius of the English and of the Greek tongues; and would almost incline us to believe that our author's Greek knowledge has not been kept fresh and pure by a perpetual infusion from the sources of the language in the classical writers of antiquity—but has been pretty much confined to the language of the New Testament assisted by our English translation, and has thus been corrupted by the hazardous, but seductive mistake of arguing from the modern idioms to the ancient forms of the beautiful and philosophical language of Greece.

The most flagrant departure, however, from all analogy of derivation which has occured to us in these volumes, is the following really amusing and original observation, vol. vi. p. 257. "This is evident, from the customs of having salt-fish on Ash-Wednesday, and pancakes on Shrove-Tuesday. The latter in all probability, arose from the people being reminded, or perhaps summoned, by a bell, to confess all their sins, πᾶν κακόν. From hence it was called the πᾶν κακὸν, or pancake bell." When we read this extraordinary criticism, we first rubbed our eyes, and began to think we could not have read correctly. We then

took down Johnson, just to assure ourselves of what was too clear to require assurance, the real derivation of the word; we then shut up the volume in utter amazement at the infatuation to which the best-intentioned minds are subject, when once fancy has been allowed, first to obscure, and then seduce, and then extinguish, the plainest dictates of common sense. Of hypothesis and invention in criticism we may say, as Pope does of vice, that it is

> ——— A monster of such frightful mien
> That to be hated, needs but to be seen;
> But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

But we willingly abstain from further remarks. For these defects are minute and unimportant, considering the extent of this work and its chief design. If indeed, we were called to examine a single volume, merely containing a dozen discourses, we might expect a greater accuracy, or at least, must have fairly said, that the critical errors bore a more disturbing proportion to the bulk of the performance: but in the immense series of twelve hundred sermons, designed for popular use, an author is to be judged of by broader rules.

Setting aside, then, the comparatively few critical remarks, (almost all of which we could dispense with) and coming now to speak of the work as a whole, we do most sincerely recommend it to those who may desire an almost continued commentary on the Scriptures, and especially to the younger clergy. We should think it would gradually become a stock-book. We know few works of equal value. Indeed, with the exception of Bishop Beveridge's Thesaurus, nothing of the kind can claim to be brought into comparison with it. It does indeed excite our admiration, that a work of such persevering labour, should have been planned and executed by an individual clergyman. It might be thought, on a first consideration, that great marks of haste would have been apparent throughout the performance—but the fact is, upon the whole, just the contrary—we have no doubt that most of these discourses must have cost the author on an average twelve or fifteen hours hard study, and some considerably more. We find, indeed, on merely reckoning up the time which has intervened between the publication of the five first volumes and those before us—eighteen years,—that between sixty and seventy discourses must have been composed each year—and we should imagine that by far the best time of every week during that period must have been given to this labour. The same ardour of spirit, which has betrayed our author, as we have already noticed, into some comparatively unimportant mistakes, must have been the spring of this great under-

taking. Directed to the truth of the Holy Scriptures, animated by faith, and imbued with heavenly charity, this sacred vigor of understanding and affection has reared an imperishable monument of laborious diligence and well-directed enterprize. The whole work breathes and burns throughout with life and fervour. The characteristic canon which it follows is wise, and important, and novel. The knowledge of the art of sermon composition is the result of long practice and improved habit. The Divinity is sound, and holy, and spiritual. The variety, both in form and in matter, is perhaps full as great as the case would admit. The superiority to the trammels of human systems is generous and pure, and gives it an air of freedom from the opinions of men, and of subjection to the authority of God, which is very attractive. The force and pathos, which perpetually appear—force indeed most frequently—interest the heart, and touch the consciences of men. In short, in all the main excellencies of so vast an attempt, we consider the author as completely successful; whilst in the defects themselves, which we know it would be easy to aggravate, we trace rather the overflowings and aberrations of the very mind which alone could execute such a design, than the characters of weakness, or negligence, or misrepresentation.

Upon its freedom from a spirit of party, however, we are very much inclined to rest much of the merit of the undertaking. Indeed this excellence flows from a yet higher one, to which we have so often adverted, the noble and successful determination to follow the inspired volume in its spirit and meaning throughout. Of course this, as well as every other commendation we bestow, must be taken with the deductions which human infirmity in all cases requires. But we speak advisedly when we declare that the ultimate blessing to the church which the superiority, and even opposition, to systematic views apparent upon the whole of this work, may be the means of conferring, can scarcely be too highly estimated. And this in two respects. First as it regards the clergy, and then the church generally. For the young divine, released from the preparatory studies of college, and called to a populous and important station, cannot but derive essential aid from the use of it. Let such a student, if he has two discourses to prepare each week, compose one himself, and take the other chiefly from our author. If he first peruse with care the essay on the composition of a sermon in the former publication, with the valuable prefaces of the second volume of that series and the first volume of this, he will be prepared to derive great advantage from this work. The arrangement and principal thoughts of his experienced guide will accustom him to accuracy of division and perspi-

cuity of composition; whilst the calling up his own powers, in the discourse which he makes himself, will preserve him from indolence and security. For after all, no external aid can supply the place of personal diligence. A minister must study his Bible, and study it carefully; he must compare the several parts, observe the manner in which every thing is stated, and elucidate one passage by another, with the sincere and most tender anxiety to follow in every thing the revelation of God. In such a state of mind, our author's work will be a singular benefit to him. It will aid, not diminish his labours. It will animate, not supersede the toil of composition. It will relieve in a moment of languor, not exonerate from the burden of active duty. Perhaps there is no one effort from which the human mind so much shrinks, as from intellectual exertion. In young men, this will often increase to depression, and at times to despondency. In such exigencies, the friendly aid of this work will supply the exact consolation required. And even in more advanced periods of ministerial labour, the new and important thoughts, the happy illustrations, the forcible addresses to the conscience, and the references to appropriate passages of scripture which perpetually occur, will often be of singular advantage. These will be benefits of a general nature. The more particular benefit to be gathered from the leading merit of the work—its adherence to the bible, rather than to human systems—need not be insisted on, though it is in truth the most important of all. When to these considerations we add the instances of younger clergymen unfixed in their practical sentiments of piety, whom this work may tend to guide and ultimately to save, we are yet more strongly convinced of the advantage it may afford to those who when truly enlightened, are the most operative agents of virtue and religion.

Nor will the advantages which the church in general may derive from this publication be inconsiderable. To say nothing of the supply which it furnishes for devotional reading, we can conceive of nothing more appropriate for the family party on a Sunday evening than courses of sermons selected from it. They would be short, striking, and attractive. But, in addition to this, the standard of right judgment as to the doctrines of the Reformation which these volumes will tend to raise and maintain throughout our people, and the diminishing of all party-spirit which they will promote, are advantages very important. A narrow, exclusive temper, which magnifies names and interests, we conceive to be very destructive of the real spirit of Christianity, very embarrassing to the sincere inquirer after truth, extremely remote from the genuine tone of the Holy Scriptures, and adverse to the progress of the heart in practical piety. And

yet nothing is more easily, nothing more insensibly imbibed. It grows on our fallen nature, and adheres to it. Few, few are the examples where a man is good, and yet wholly free from some petty ends which circumstances of comparatively trifling importance have led him to espouse. To have a work, then, so superior to this exclusive temper as the one we are reviewing —a work, too, which is likely to exercise such a controul over the public sentiment, is a matter of sincere congratulation.

Still we are aware that numbers in this country will be ready to accuse our author of belonging to a party, and will be with held from even looking into his work from that very consideration. A word on this topic shall close our observations, already, as we fear, too extended. And we are the rather disposed to venture on a remark or two on this point, because we are much inclined to suspect that an exaggerated representation of what is called a religious party in the church, deters many from acting fully and conscientiously on their principles. It is said, then, that such clergymen as our author constitute a party; but with what truth, let the volume we have been reviewing, testify. Are there any sentiments maintained by these divines different from those inculcated in our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy? Is there any attempt on their part to screen their friends, or calumniate others? Is there any backwardness to enter on fair argument and manly discussion on disputed questions? Is there any jealousy of the measures conducted by other hands, and in another manner from that adopted by themselves? Is there any reluctance to acknowledge the merits of an opponent? In short, is there any one characteristic of what can with fairness be termed a party-spirit? We answer most fearlessly with respect to the great body of those to whom the charge is supposed to be applicable, that there is no ground for the accusation. We invite, moreover, those who may doubt this assertion, to examine the work before us in this view. Let them refer to the texts which they imagine to uphold their own system, and they will find them illustrated with the same fulness of detail, and the same impartiality, as those of the apparently opposite tendency. They will find nothing concealed, nothing omitted, nothing unfairly stated, (allowing always for human infirmity) nothing uncharitably urged, no Shibboleths of a sect, no peculiarity of language, no subjection to a human leader, no fastidious measurement of phrases, no subterfuge or adroitness in argument; but all open, and candid, and scriptural, and holy. If, indeed, men should so far forget the main features of our reformation, or the leading doctrines of our church, or, yet more, the chief truths of Revelation, as to infix the odium of a party on those who soberly and faithfully dis-

charge their ordination-vows in teaching those principles, we must admit, and even glory, in the fact, whilst we repel the inference. Undoubtedly the clergy, who are thus accused, preach the doctrines of original sin, the corruption of our nature, the inability of man to any thing spiritually good, salvation by grace, justification by faith, regeneration by the Holy Spirit, the necessity of repentance, love, and universal obedience. But they preach these truths, and those other more deeply inscrutable ones of the Holy Trinity, and the Divine purposes in redemption, not in harsh and isolated propositions, but as they lie in Holy Scripture, and accompanied with all the attendant and preparatory and consequent truths which surround them there. And, in doing this, they incur not any just charge of a party-spirit. These truths stand on a broader bottom. They are not peculiar to a narrow sect, but common to the whole universal church of Christ in every age—just as the opposite tenets of the native power of man; his ability to choose and do of himself what is spiritually good; salvation primarily by grace, and afterwards, in some measure, by good works; justification by a concrete faith including obedience; regeneration exclusively and uniformly conferred in the Sacrament of Baptism; the consistency of worldly gaieties with a religious life; the somewhat meritorious conditions of the Gospel covenant; continuance in a state of grace dependant on our own will, &c. &c. are not tenets of a party, but common to the fallen heart of man, and opposed in every age to the spiritual and holy religion of the New Testament.

Of course, a difference of judgment on most of these points will here arise. Our appeal, then, is to the Holy Scriptures, to the doctrines of our church, to the judgments of all our eminent divines, and to the common understanding and consciences of men. We ask who adopt naturally, and without effort, the language of holy Scripture? We inquire, who express their sentiments to their people in the very words of our church, as the most appropriate and affecting? We ask which doctrine saves the soul? Which has the attestation of God in the influences of his grace? Which brings men to the state and temper inculcated in the Bible as essential to the true Christian? Which sanctifies and comforts in life, supports in death, and has the anticipations and foretastes of eternity? On the other hand, we inquire whether the course of doctrine which we are now opposing, is not, generally speaking, cold and uninfluential? Whether it does not proceed on little more than the principles of natural religion? Whether it consists not with a dead repentance, a lifeless faith, and a worldly life? Whether it does not leave the mass of mankind unmoved in their sins and

vices, and substitute a form of religion for the power? And whether it does not, in fact, express itself in any language rather than that of holy Scripture and of our church?—But we forbear to urge these inquiries. The fact is, the mighty doctrines of grace are impressed on the very surface of our Bibles and Prayer-books; and it is in vain to confound the great principles of spiritual death or life, of acceptance with God or condemnation, of a heavenly or a worldly life, of the elements of grace or nature, and the preparation for heaven or hell—with the minute and petty insignia of a party occupied in inconsiderable pursuits, and unconnected with the vast and eternal interests of mankind. Nor can any church long be preserved where a general discrepancy between the doctrine of her formularies, and the actual instruction of her ministers, shall prevail—the golden candlestick would be removed—and, the Divine blessing being withdrawn, the salvation of men would flow in some other channel, and be conferred on some other ecclesiastical community. Nor is it possible, as we think, to conceal the fact that the mass of our people can and do distinguish between the healing doctrine of Christ their Saviour, and the miserable tenets of clerical moralists. With all their incapacity of accurate distinction, and their liableness to be seduced and betrayed, there is a plain common sense, and a solemn judicature of conscience, which enables the pious among them to discern the instruction which exhibits a Saviour from that which conceals him; the life-giving doctrine of justification from the gloomy terrors of the law; the peace and consolation and purity and spirituality of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, from the coldness and hopelessness of human efforts; the inviting and urgent calls to holiness of life from the tame inculcation of mere ethical precepts. It is not difficult to predict the danger of our church just in proportion as she loses her hold on the divine blessing on the one hand, and on the hearts of our population on the other. But we hope better things; we speak thus, because, to attach the odium of party to the great truths of the Gospel, is, in our judgment, as mistaken in fact, as it is ruinous in policy, and uncharitable in sentiment. Rather would we include under the class of sincere ministers of our Saviour all who desire to love and serve him, even though they should differ from ourselves in these, or any other remarks which we have offered. And we conclude by expressing our conviction, that if any one to whom we may appear to have spoken strongly on this subject will begin his inquiries into religion in the temper of the work we have been reviewing (let No. 964 afford an example), he will become a witness to what we have advanced. The entrance on reli-

gious knowledge is by due humiliation for sin. As we know ourselves, all becomes plain. The light of the pure heavens is not more adapted to the natural eye than the truths of Scripture are to a humble faith. The road lies open to the diligent traveller. Salvation by grace through faith is as a balm to the wounded conscience. The duties of holiness are the delight of the regenerated heart. The service of the Redeemer is perfect freedom to the liberated captive of sin. This, this is the key to all sound theological knowledge. Other methods may produce theoretical consistency of opinion, but can never lead to practical conclusions and a holy efficacy on the heart and life. Religion must be vital to be valuable or productive. Nor do we hesitate to say, that he may hope to gain a the right path, to whom the work before us, and others of a similar character, shall, in their broad features, be satisfactory and pleasing.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of her most excellent Majesty Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain, from Authentic Documents.* By John Watkins, LL. D., Author of the Life of Sheridan, &c. Embellished with Portraits. 8vo. London. Colburn, 1819.

THIS is a book six hundred pages in length; a mathematical line---length without breadth or thickness, as far as regards the matter. But the writer is not to blame. He had, probably, an engagement to fulfil with his bookseller. The fault was in the woman whose memoir he probably undertook to expand into a volume of extra size. If a woman, placed by Providence in a highly exalted situation, with the power of keeping in constant agitation the scene around her, and multiplying the changes and chances of life by the licence and disorder of the passions, will, nevertheless, so conduct herself as to give rare occasion to such occurrences as are usually called interesting in high society, and which furnish topics to the retailer of anecdotes; if she will abstain from all those interferences which are calculated to implicate her in ambitious contests and political intrigues; if she will content herself with living the regular life of a virtuous mother in the quiet circle of her family, an object of love and honour, and, in some degree, of imitation, or, at least, of that respectful conformity which not seldom passes into habit, sometimes into principle, shrinking from the contagion of glittering depravity, and renouncing and repelling all tainted intercourse, she cannot be the subject of attractive and eventful biography. The late Queen's character is her memoir, and the uniform ex-

pansion of her existence, like the cloudless heaven, affords little variety of light and shade, and none of the changeful features which a grosser atmosphere exhibits.

If, then, the book before us is not a publication of any interest for its anecdotes, as we have before observed, her late Majesty is alone to be charged with the deficiency. The author has shown a disposition to make the most of every thing. The public are certainly to be acquitted; the people have, as usual, done their part towards making their late Queen an interesting subject of biography. The fate of the wise and virtuous, and especially of the temperate and chaste, has been eminently hers. Calumny, and malignant hate of virtue in exalted station, have done their utmost to asperse a character whose great provocation has consisted in her doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with her God. We forget—she was certainly guilty of some minor offences: she lived to be an old woman, loved her husband, took snuff, and maintained an affectionate intercourse with her relatives of Mecklenburg Strelitz. If Dr. Watkins had chosen to avail himself of the numerous anecdotes concerning our late Queen dispersed and credited among the good people of England, especially the more patriotic portion of them, he might have told us, with the certainty of being pretty widely believed, that, by a long course of parsimonious thrift, she had accumulated vast stores of personal wealth, the progressive increase of which had never been retarded by a single act of charity or bounty; that she had deprived her royal husband of his reason by her ill behaviour; and that the death of the Princess Charlotte was the consequence of her injuries and persecutions. These would have been great discoveries, and would have secured an extensive sale of the work. It would have been announced and labelled at the shop of every vender of moral poisons through the kingdom. Dr. Watkins has taken the honest course, and has presented a true, though somewhat tedious, account of our lost Queen, whose excellent qualities the spirit of factious malevolence does not yet allow to be justly appreciated.

The author of the work before us, however, in spite of his good intentions, by his undertaking to make a volume, has been constrained to exhibit, in one respect, a deceptious view of the late Queen. Being totally incapable, consistently with truth, of mixing her with the politics, or party-history, of the country, so wise and prudent was her conduct; and having nothing to record of intrigue or quarrel, of irregular affection or contentious emotion, no secret history, no private disputes, no incidents, such as disorderly habits or feelings engender and multiply; he has felt himself obliged to fill out his narrative by a series of royal

visits, journeys, and fêtes, which, when considered as spread over a long reign of near sixty years, were hardly sufficient to content the people, but which, by following each other in the narrative through half the volume in an uninterrupted succession, have given a portrait of her Majesty, as to this part of her character, extremely unlike the original. Mother of twelve children, she thought it her first duty to her husband, and to the public, to take good care of their education; an affectionate and devoted wife, she felt and answered the demand which the King, her husband, made upon her time for sweetening his hours of relaxation; a gentle nurse of the state, she watched over all its charities, and beneficent institutions; a pious protestant princess she felt the value of her own soul, and the value of her example to the souls of others; and with the duties which flowed from these principles and obligations the time of this excellent person was almost wholly engrossed. But what does time so passed afford to the pen of the biographer? Some festivities, the fashion of the times demanded of her; some entertainments, the laws of hospitality imposed upon her; some journeys, and these were few and circumscribed, cheerfulness allowed and health prescribed;---in these transactions consisted the public and most observable part of her life, except, indeed, in the patronage and the encouragement of useful institutions: so that the few prominent particulars of her life, and such as served the purpose of popular narrative, were principally those which were foreign and contingent with respect to her true character and substantial merits. Her private charities fell like the dew, unseen, unheard, in silent, seasonable relief, upon the bosom of sorrow, without tribute or return, save in the indulgence of tender feelings, and the refreshing contemplation of the effects of her bounty.

If there was aught that leaned towards severity in the deportment of this great lady, it was in the sternness with which she repelled the libertinism of the great, and sustained the conservative pride of the female character. Courtly depravity found its most effectual check in the dignity of her example. We have indeed long known her only as a woman advanced in years, standing in disadvantageous comparison, for thus it will always be in this fickle state of being, with young and hopeful expectants: but her career as Queen of England was begun when her years were green, and the dew was upon her branch; and from youth to age, surrounded at all times by much ill-nature, and in the midst of a people the most credulous upon earth of every rumour affecting the honour of their rulers, she so lived as to afford no colour for slander, nor materials for the superstructures of falsehood. The restless humour of the na-

tion has left it a debtor to this most amiable and virtuous of its queens in a large arrear of gratitude, to be answered now only by vain regrets, as experience brings with it accumulating proofs of what the real importance is of having a pure and honourable female at the head of British matrons.

The author has introduced his Memoirs with a genealogical account of the House of Mecklenburg; and has brought before us a succession of active and respectable princes, distinguished for their attachment to the reformed religion. The father of our Queen was Charles Lewis Frederic, the younger son of Adolphus Frederic, the second Duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. His elder brother having no issue, the ducal sovereignty in 1751 came to the younger branch. Charles Lewis Frederic married the Princess Albertina Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest Frederic, Duke of Saxe Hilburghausen, of which marriage there were born six children—Christina Sophia Albertina in 1735; Adolphus Frederic in 1738, heir to the ducal honours of Mecklenburg Strelitz; Charles Lewis Frederic in 1741, who survived and succeeded his brother; Ernest Gottlob Albert in the year following; Sophia Charlotte, the subject of the Memoir, in 1744; and George Augustus in 1748. A pleasing account is then given us of the domestic discipline and manners of this princely house, which appears to have supplied an admirable model to the cultivators of the difficult art of maintaining family subordination and union without the sacrifice of cheerfulness. These cares devolved entirely upon the Duchess on the death of the Duke, which took place in 1751, from which period, with the assistance of well-selected teachers, the Duchess dowager devoted herself with remarkable zeal and prudence to the formation and improvement of her children; and the elder daughter being at this time of an age to require less of the mother's immediate superintendance, the Princess Sophia Charlotte became the principal object of her solicitude, and derived from this excellent mother those principles of which this country so long experienced the practical blessing without an adequate sense of its worth and importance.

All accounts bear the same testimony to the virtuous and amiable economy of the palace of Mecklenburg Strelitz under the mother of our Queen. The character of the ducal family became the character of the court, and pervaded the whole principality, which continued to enjoy its happy state until the war, called the seven years' war, which lasted from 1756 to 1763, spread desolation through the territories of the minor princes of Germany. The ducal states of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz preserved a strict neutrality, and for this offence the troops of the King of Prussia were allowed

to march without restraint through the territory of these unoffending princes, levying contributions upon the villages and farms, forcing the young men into their armies, plundering the churches and private habitations, and acting in all respects as an enemy proceeding through a conquered country. The misery of this once happy people was extreme, trade was abandoned, the land was left uncultivated, and those who possessed moveable property, the ducal family among the rest, conveyed it to Hamburg and Lubec for security. Every thing was done by the reigning family to alleviate the sufferings of the people till the resources of charity were exhausted, and the afflicted Duchess, if she did not immediately sink under her misfortunes, is said to have been thrown by them into a state of bodily infirmity which ended in her death.

By the victory gained by the Prussian arms over Marshal Daun at Torgau, in 1760, the fortune of Frederic was raised to its summit, and this was the moment chosen by the younger Princess of Strelitz for tendering that celebrated epistle to the monarch, which appears to have had some influence in rendering his conduct towards her oppressed country more considerate and just. This letter, the genuineness of which we have not heard disputed, is neither eloquent nor brilliant, but it is unpretendingly and naturally written, exhibiting much good sense, and good feeling, clearly and succinctly expressed. There is also something in it of a feminine cast that renders the magnanimity which belongs to the proceeding particularly affecting. She thus recommends the situation of her unhappy country to the consideration of the victorious king.

" It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the most pleasing appearance. The country was cultivated, the peasant looked cheerful, and the towns abounded with riches and festivity. What an alteration at present from such a charming scene! I am not expert at description, nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but surely even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospects now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair. The employments of the husbandman and the shepherd are quite suspended; for the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil which they formerly cultivated. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children; while perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loss of limbs rendered unfit for service, is left at his door, where his little children hang round him, ask the history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate insolence of either army as it happens to advance or retreat, in pursuing the operations of the campaign. It is impossible, indeed, to express the confusion which they who call them-

selves our friends create, for even those from whom we might expect relief only oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is, Sire, that we hope redress: to you even children and women may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest wrong." (*P. 56, 57.*)

It is well known that George the Second had designed a marriage for his grandson with a niece of the King of Prussia, that this union was regarded by the dowager Princess of Wales with much aversion, and that the young Prince of Wales, after many efforts of his grandfather to overcome his repugnance, put an end to the project by a decided refusal, chiefly, it is surmised, on account of the libertine principles of the proposed family,—a refusal which is said to have occasioned the remark of the English monarch, "that the boy was only fit to read the Bible to his mother." The truth was, that by the wise maxims and judicious management of this most respectable and much-calumniated princess, the moral sanctity of the throne of these realms was secured for more than half a century.

With a thinking and virtuous people, it ought to have been strong evidence of the sound judgment and correct principles of the princess dowager, that, careless of the seeming advantages of an interested or splendid alliance, she looked into the family of this petty princedom of Mecklenburg for a woman educated as a woman should be to take her station at the head of the female society of this great empire, that is to say, in the strict observance of all those conservative rules which are the defence and ornament of the female character. Such a person she found in the second daughter of the duchess dowager, to whose excellent discharge of the mother's duty to her family Dr. Watkins has not given exaggerated praise. For her sound and sober views of the interests of her royal son the dowager princess was in discredit with the court of George the Second, and for some time lived in some neglect at Kew and Leicester House, but on the commencement of the new reign it was soon seen that the young King adopted her views of his own best interests, and manifested an edifying respect and duty to his mother. Dr. Watkins is right enough in his observation that these proofs of good disposition are of no avail in factious times. There is not a virtue, however pure, that is not easily transformed into reproach by party-rancour. The dutifulness of the son was construed into weakness, and the mother's disinterestedness was stigmatized with every imputation which the inventiveness of malice could suggest. Things went on, however, under the guidance of a firm hand, in their proper train. The young King was married to the woman of his

choice, and as the choice was governed by consummate prudence, a marriage of uniform and long-continued felicity was the result, in which the nation may be said to have enjoyed almost an equal share with the parties themselves.

The particularities of domestic life seldom fall properly within the province of the historian; their dimensions are too contracted to suit the proportions of his scale: in the case, however, of the young King and Queen of Great Britain, the rare spectacle of conjugal felicity, fidelity, and virtue in a station so exalted and so exposed, maintained with uniform constancy through half a century, creating an ascendancy which legal authority can never alone confer, and stamping those habits on the nation which have carried it triumphant through a contest in which not safety merely, but the very principle of safety, and the very basis of independent existence have been at stake, claim from the historian the same distinction which any of the greatest events are entitled to, by which the fortunes of states are determined. The King was young and personable, the Queen younger and no less amiable; they were alike moral, and the morality of each was grounded on the same religious principle; turning aside from the fascinations that surrounded them, they held on their steady course amidst obloquy and detraction to the accomplishment of that great destiny, of which they acknowledged the call at the first start of their resolute career. However ordinary or homely all this may appear to some, it will be duly appreciated by such as know the influence of royal example, and who, looking back on the lives of the most popular and patriot princes of modern Europe, are sensible how rarely the turtle of domestic peace and union builds her nest under the roofs of palaces.

The young King in his inaugural speech to his parliament boasted his birth as a native Briton; and in that boast included the pledge of a solemn undertaking to his country, to which his coronation oath might add solemnity, but could add no strength, and which his whole life was spent in redeeming. He was a thorough Protestant at heart, and as much attached to the civil and religious liberty of his country as any of his subjects, with a clearer understanding than most, of its real essence and legitimate extent. He was a gentleman after the best English pattern, brave and kind, well bred and natural, tenacious of forms, but in essentials the same to all, a cheerful friend, a gentle master, perfect in every domestic relation, chaste, temperate, pious. Such confessedly was this man and prince at the age of twenty-one, surrounded by bad examples and bad precedents, in the heyday of the blood, and in the centre of temptation. To gratify his people, he shewed himself

much in public, and displayed all the splendid exterior of a magnificent throne, but his delight was in the genuine enjoyment of a happy home, and that caressing scene of reciprocal tenderness, of which he was the spring and the model. Rising with the lark, and with the lark at his matins, his first look was upward to his God; the next objects of his thoughts were the duties of his government; himself and his humble pleasures came last; but the constant light that shone from the recesses of his privacy, shed, like the moon from behind a cloud, a placid lustre upon the world beneath. We have never heard of a single instance in the long reign of this admirable prince, and we have been inquisitive on the subject, of his having given way to feelings or expressions of unbecoming temper, unless perhaps during some physical disturbance of his frame when under the influence of his mental distemper; and even in that dark slumber of his faculties, the shadows of the past with a soft and soothing interest still faintly refreshed the fevered brain, and spread a visionary comfort around the heart.

Such was the man to whom the Princess of Mecklenburg was given in marriage, and towards such a man it was no effort for such a woman to preserve an uniform respect and love. We speak it again from sincere conviction, the nation was peculiarly edified by the virtues of common life exhibited upon the throne, and by seeing an honest man, in all the breadth and compass of that character, and in the sense in which he may be truly called "the noblest work of God," swaying the sceptre of this great empire in conjunction with a woman of that class of females, who abstain from intermeddling with what belongs not to their sex or situation, but who fully accomplish the round of those duties which are so essential to woman's glory, that the exaltation of her rank tends only the more to illustrate their obligation.

When one reflects upon the versatile conduct of the people of Great Britain towards this royal couple, by whose example they were thus reproved and edified, one feels but little pleasure in contemplating with Dr. Watkins "the sentiment of joy which the royal marriage lighted up in every part of the nation." One hears with little emotion that "the remotest villages manifested a similar spirit to that which prevailed in the metropolis of the empire, and that there was hardly a cottage in the land that did not share in the common festivity," that "it seemed as if every family and individual regarded the event as connected with their private happiness." The coronation, and the festivities accompanying it were scarcely over, before the return of that feeling begun to manifest itself, which makes every man of sense sicken when he hears of the permanency of thrones de-

pending upon popular affection. In a free country it must depend upon the conviction and satisfaction of the reasoning part of the people,—a conviction that, in the main, under the powers that exist, their rights are best secured. The whole of Mr. Pitt's administration had no other popularity than this. This upstayed the throne of George the Third. The popularity of affection was never his until he ceased to be capable of doing good by administering the government, and nothing remained to him but the memory of his virtuous efficiency. In the next chapter to that which the author has inflated with all that he could collect of the fume and flatulence of popular adulation, the King and Queen sink naturally to the level to which their real dignity consigned them. Their popularity gave place to that involuntary respect which feels and acts, but is neither visible nor vociferous.

It promised to be a reign of dissipation. Their Majesties were young, affable, and cheerful. A general opinion prevailed, that a contrast was about to be displayed to the gloom which had characterized the English court for the twenty preceding years. It was, in truth, an altered scene. There was a liveliness in the manners of both King and Queen which diffused itself around, and lighted up the atmosphere of the court. Lord Orford, in one of his lately-published letters observes, (we quote from these wicked letters with reluctance) "The King himself seems all good nature, and wishing to satisfy every body: all his speeches are obliging. I saw him again yesterday, and was surprised to find that the levee-room had lost so entirely the air of the lion's den. The sovereign does not stand in one spot, with his eyes fixed royally on the ground, and dropping bits of German news; he walks about, and speaks to every body. I saw him afterwards on the throne, where he is graceful and genteel, sits with dignity, and reads his answers to addresses well."—"So fickle," says Dr. Watkins, "is public opinion, that not many months after the arrival of the Queen, the palace purchased for her accommodation was nicknamed Holyrood House, and murmurings were heard against the poverty and pride of German connexions." The truth is, that, with the termination of the first festivities of the incipient reign, and the adoption of that eminently regular and virtuous life, which was persevered in by this unsophisticated, temperate, and single-hearted couple to the end of their lives, their popularity in the wide sense of the term died away. The King and Queen lived above it. The tumultuous and vain world lay below them immersed in the smoke and dust of never-ending agitation. The first act of his reign was to give repose to his people after a long and fruitless continental war, carried on to

serve the ambition of a heartless infidel, falsely called a hero, and yet the first act of his reign was unpopular. One of the wickedest men, and the author of the wickedest publication that the world has seen, grossly and atrociously libelled the young monarch, and this foul act was extremely popular. The very gist of Wilkes's popularity was first the contrast of his character to that of the prince upon the throne, and next his abuse of that prince. Junius was popular less by the keenness of his general satire than by the dark and acrimonious slander of his sovereign. His wish avowedly was that Wilkes might for ever be a thorn in his Majesty's side; and yet his book, full of trick in its style and falsehood in its assertions, was the favourite of the people, for their blameless sovereign was its victim. Such is the testimony and the worth of popular favour in its large and general acceptation.

We hear a great deal at present of the virtues of our late excellent sovereign.—A great deal of despicable whining upon the subject, and from those principally who dealt out the hardest measure to him while he lived and reigned. After calumniating and harassing him while alive, they make use of his dead virtues only to place them in an invidious contrast with the character of his successor. The son was upheld while at the head of an opposition to his parents' government; and so long as he was considered as the patron and espouser of his father's enemies. During the whole period of the monarch's reign we heard nothing of his virtues from what was then called the opposition party; the prince was, of all princes, "the most amiable and accomplished;" and any man of thirty years' standing must have a deplorable memory who does not distinctly remember the eulogies bestowed upon the son at the expense of the father by the men called whigs among our politicians. The father dies, the son succeeds, and adopts the spirit of his father's government—the son instantly loses his popularity—the disturbers of the father's quiet, and the calumniators of his administration, make use of the father's memory only to disquiet and disparage the son. There being no issue of the reigning prince to excite to the breach of duty towards his parent, the defunct excellencies of the deceased monarch are re-animated by those who denied them while living, to serve as the instruments of the vengeance of a disappointed faction. We state these odious facts without any colouring; and we defy the world to arraign their truth. As the constant and genuine friends of the late sovereign, whose pages have so often reflected his character, we desire to renounce all sympathy with these hollow professors of regard to his memory. The highest refinement of iniquity is to make virtue itself the agent of ma-

levolence. If Junius were now living, we should find him joining loudly in this chorus of canting eulogy, celebrating the apotheosis of the man whose happiness, while living, he vainly laboured to destroy, and borrowing the mantle of the father to hide the dagger prepared against the son. We feel ourselves bound by the highest sanctions to speak reverently of our lawful rulers; and we deem it indecorous to allude to the conduct of our sovereign before his accession to the throne; but for the sake of putting fairly and forcibly an important truth, it may not be unbecoming to say, that if any irregularities are to be charged upon the son of George the Third, when Prince of Wales, they are to be assigned to that period when, with the whig party, his name was highest, when his moral character was conformed to their standard, and was the result of their lessons and example. In an inverse ratio to the elevation of the royal character has been its credit with these ancient friends.

The treatment of the late Queen comprises a still more discreditable specimen of the rotten stuff of which popularity is composed. Aloof from all political controversy, she was only visible in acts of grace and charity. She had no favourites in the empire but her husband and her family, and those of humbler life who stood in the nearest relation to her by their duties and services. The moral atmosphere was pure around her from pollution, or the suspicion of pollution. The English law invested her with great privileges, and placed her fortune under her independent controul,—but the operations in which this *sui juris* competency was alone observable were protection and bounty. Her conduct was too circumspect to afford even a colour to calumny. She was without blemish; but still she was guilty of being a Queen, and a pious Queen too: add to this, that her charities flowed in secret: in the point, therefore, in which she was chiefly meritorious, she gave to envy its greatest advantage. The damning secret of Junius died with him, but the death of the Queen unsealed the lips of gratitude; her empty coffers half divulged the tale, and the disclosure of the secret which had, till then, been known only to him that rewardeth openly, anticipating no part of her heavenly recompence, showed to the world its cruel injustice when the period of reparation was past.

We have often thought that the closing year of this great lady's life was full of the most melancholy interest. Her frame was sinking under disease, her royal husband blind, decrepid, and deranged, was soon to be deprived of all that remained to him—the watchful solicitude of his faithful friend, long the partner of his cares and his joys, and long, too long, the nurse

of his afflictions; her domestic virtue, which had stood the test of fifty years, purchased for her little sensibility, and little kindness, from a fickle public, whose flux and versatile favour had settled, for a time, for but a short time probably, had the object of it been seated on the throne, on her grand-child, to whom it cost only a single year of domestic harmony with the husband of her choice to acquire it. The hand of death was upon the aged Queen, and the waters of Bath seemed to afford the only chance of recovery. The construction put upon the motives of this journey; the malignant aspersions to which it exposed this venerable and suffering woman; the charge of neglecting her grand-daughter, to whom every assistance, nay, even her personal attendance, dying as she then felt herself, was offered; and the coarse insults of the unfeeling populace, weighed heavier, probably, than the hand of death itself, and in the end brought her grey hairs with silent sorrow to the grave. We say *silent* sorrow, because during the last year of her life, and even during the prevalence of the disease, which terminated that life, her good spirits and even temper, and benevolence of heart, sustained her nearly to the last in the same smiling composure towards her husband's subjects; gracious in her looks, kind in her expressions, and only reserved in the avowal of her charities. Of the impression made by the arrival at Bath, where the Queen then was, of the news of the death of the Princess Charlotte, Dr. Watkins has given the following account:

"On Thursday morning, after drinking the waters, Her Majesty received an address from the corporation; and about four o'clock a messenger arrived with dispatches from Lord Sidmouth, stating that the Princess Charlotte had been delivered of a still-born male child, but that her royal highness was doing extremely well.

"There cannot possibly be conceived a greater aggravation of evil tidings than that occasioned by a sudden extinction of hope after the previous removal of anxiety. Thus it was in the present instance, for though the first news was affecting, yet, as it brought an assurance of safety in regard to the state of the princess, the disappointment of other hopes was less sensibly felt.

"At six o'clock, therefore, the Queen sat down, with her usual party of fourteen, to dinner, and appeared tolerably composed; but in about an hour another messenger arrived, with a dispatch directed to General Taylor, who was privately called out of the room, a circumstance that struck the Queen as very extraordinary, but on which she made no remark till the Countess of Ilchester withdrew in the same abrupt manner; and then her fears realizing the cause at once, she exclaimed, 'I know what is the matter;' and fell into a fit.

"After some time, she was sufficiently recovered to be led into her private apartment, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth, whose distress was not less than that of her venerable parent.

" That night, and the following day, passed in silent anguish, while it seemed all around as if each individual had been deprived of a bosom friend, and that every family had lost a near relative.

" Though the royal party left Bath as early as seven on Saturday morning, they did not arrive at Windsor till six in the evening.

" The next day the Prince Regent came in a very private way to see the Queen and princesses, who were soon after joined by the Duchess of Gloucester, forming a very melancholy group; yet deriving from this meeting, and the reciprocation of sorrow, something like relief under the pressure of such a heavy affliction.

" From this time to the funeral, Her Majesty and the princesses remained at the castle in a state of seclusion, with the exception of about an hour every day, when, by the special direction of the physicians, they took an airing in the little park; though this was done in the most private manner possible, with no other attendant than a single footman.

" The universal concern excited by this mournful event did honour to the public feelings; but the sympathy which the affecting circumstances of the case produced would have been more satisfactory had it been unmixed with prejudices and untainted by calumny. When the people lamented the extinction of the national hopes, they should have gratefully remembered the bright example of virtue which for so long a period had enlightened the country. Of the future, no determinate judgment could be formed; but the history of more than half a century laid an obligation upon every individual in the kingdom to think well, and speak reverently, of the august personage whose uniform conduct and purity of heart had for so long a period given unexampled dignity to the British court. Slanderers, however, rose in this hour of sorrow; and what was worse, their vile insinuations were so credulously received, and industriously circulated, that it was impossible to remove the ill impression which they produced. The most ungenerous and cruel reflections were made upon the Queen, on account of her absence at such a critical juncture; and some even went the length of saying that the journey to Bath was a measure of set purpose, that she might have a pretext for being out of the way. Now the truth is, the Queen, instead of hastening her departure, delayed it on this very account; and, notwithstanding the urgent recommendation of the physicians, she would not have gone thither till after the delivery of the princess, if her royal highness had not peremptorily declined the offer which her Majesty made to be at Claremont on that occasion. To this wish and intention the princess not only appeared decidedly adverse, but she made it a point of seconding the advice of the medical gentlemen, by saying that she should be most unhappy if on her account the Queen protracted what was deemed so necessary for her own health.

" This is a simple statement of plain facts, the verity of which it would be easy to prove by indubitable testimony; and they who best knew the princess will admit, that when on mature consideration she had once taken up her resolution, no persuasion in the world could induce her to alter it.

"In the present case, the propriety of the determination cannot be questioned, for the suffering of the royal patient would have been rather heightened than abated by witnessing the anxiety of one whose age and infirmities were so ill able to bear the fatigue and wretchedness unavoidable on such occasions.

"It should be observed, also, that there was nothing in the previous circumstances of the princess to give the slightest room for apprehension; but that, on the contrary, her constitutional energy afforded the strongest grounds for the confident expectation of a happy result. On this account, therefore, the shock came with redoubled force, because it was a catastrophe which no person could have dreaded.

"That it was a national loss, and one which called for general sorrow, the expression of the public feeling sufficiently evinced; yet, if amidst the lamentation which it raised, the hand of Providence was not acknowledged, there may be reason to fear that this has been a stroke of the divine judgment for benefits long abused, and only the prelude to evils which a thankless people have too much deserved."

(P. 565—569.)

We will now introduce a short series of detached extracts, which will, (we cannot say in the most interesting and tasteful manner, for, after all this good-meaning biographer has mixed up a miserable quantity of tattle and gossip with his story,) present a pretty accurate statement of the declining moments of this exemplary woman.

"Her Majesty returned to Bath at the end of November, and a few days afterwards made her promised visit to the ancient city of Bristol, which place had not received a Queen of England within its walls since Anne of Denmark, the consort of James the First. The romantic prospects in the immediate vicinity, particularly the sublime view from Clifton Hill, afforded a rich treat to Her Majesty and the Princess Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding the keenness of the air, stood for some time on the high cliff which overhangs the Avon, and contemplated with astonishment the magnificent spectacle which presented itself on every side. From hence the royal party proceeded slowly to the mansion of Colonel Baillie; and after staying there about two hours, set off again for Bath, amidst the acclamations of thousands, who lined the road all the way between the two cities.

"But neither these enjoyments, nor the virtue of Bladud's boasted springs, could renew an enfeebled constitution, or ward off the encroachments of disease. It was, however, pleasing to observe that under much weakness there was a placidity of mind, which, though it could not altogether subdue pain, had the happy effect of rendering it less acute and distressing. In all her cares and sufferings, the Queen was never at a loss for subjects to exercise her thoughts, in diligent enquiry, and benevolent attention. (P. 571, 572.)

"Though it was hardly to be expected that the Queen, at her advanced age, could derive any radical benefit from the Bath waters, the malady, which had entrenched itself too deeply in the system to

admit of an actual cure, was hereby suspended; and she returned to Windsor apparently with recruited strength, which constant exercise and change of scene contributed for some time to maintain. But there is nothing, however innocent and necessary, in the pursuits of eminent persons, that the evil-minded cannot turn into ridicule or reproach. Thus the tongue of scandal ascribed the excursions which Her Majesty made to Brighton, Bath, and other places, to an unbecoming gaiety of disposition, when it was sufficiently clear that health alone was the object; and that in these indulgencies it was not the love of pleasure, but the advice of medical men that was followed.

"In general, as age advances the attachment to life becomes more tenacious, especially where a long course of health has been enjoyed, and where many tender connexions exist, upon whose friendly offices the mind reposes in the remainder of its journey.

"The Queen felt as most do who have reason to reflect upon the past with pleasure, and who still possess an endearing tie that gives a charm to life, even though it be worn to a state of almost imperceptible exility. The vale of years was cheered by the presence and attention of affectionate children; but there was yet another relative, who, though shut out from the world, was a world to her, and for whose sake it was her wish to live, that she might watch over him in his insulated condition, and minister such occasional comfort as the state of his mind could bear. Whenever, therefore, Her Majesty left Windsor, it was with a degree of reluctance; and on her return she invariably alighted at the entrance near the apartments of the King, to see whom, she immediately went with one of the physicians in attendance." (P. 74, 75.)

"Being desirous of seeing the King, and spending her last hours under the same roof with him, Her Majesty left town for Kew, that she might be nearer the object of her wishes, little thinking, that, short as the distance was, she should never behold Windsor any more.

"The expected arrival of the Dukes of Clarence and Kent, with their respective brides, delayed her departure till it became impossible that she could proceed any farther without running the risk of dying on the road.

"On Sunday evening, the seventh of July, she appeared much better, and expressed an inclination to take a little excursion. Accordingly, the coach, was ordered, and the Queen entered it, accompanied by the Princess Augusta, the Duchess of Gloucester, and a lady in waiting. After a ride of about an hour, Her Majesty was taken so very ill that the princesses were obliged to stop the carriage, while they endeavoured to relieve the sufferings of their revered parent. When the carriage moved again, it went at a very slow pace; and on reaching the palace, the attendants had great difficulty in conveying the Queen into the house, where she lay near a quarter of an hour in a most distressing condition.

"By the sedulous attentions of the physicians, however, the royal invalid was so far recovered as to be able to sit in the saloon on the following Saturday, during the solemnization of the nuptials of the Dukes of Clarence and Kent; though she was unable to dine with the company afterwards.

"Thus were the hymeneal rites performed in the anti-chamber of death; and the Queen might have said, as she contemplated the quick succession of these new relations, 'they come like shadows, and so depart;' for if they did light up a momentary spark of delight in her mind, it was extinguished by the reflection that the sensation would in a short space be obliterated for ever.

"The nature of the disorder under which Her Majesty laboured was so unequivocally marked, as to admit of neither doubt nor hope. The anasarcous symptoms, indeed, had been so long apparent, and the consequences foreseen, that ministers, before the dissolution of parliament thought it prudent to bring in a bill to amend the regency act, with respect to the custody of His Majesty's person, in case of the demise of the Queen. But though it was evident to every other person that this event could be at no great distance, the royal patient herself entertained hopes of at least a partial recovery. With the anxiety of the dove, she panted to take up her rest at Windsor: and as this was the only impatience she betrayed amidst all her sufferings, it may be truly said to have supported her under them, by having the effect of keeping her thoughts in constant exercise and buoyant expectation." (P. 579—581.

"Through the whole of this severe visitation not one complaining word ever escaped her lips. Here patience had its perfect work; and the triumph of faith was never more strongly displayed during a long and excruciating illness than it was in the present instance. This was not stoical apathy, but pious resignation to the divine will: and as from early youth Her Majesty had studied the principles and practised the duties of religion, she now abundantly experienced the power of its consolations in the hour of need. Next to the support derived from the promises of the gospel, on which she relied with unshaken confidence, the Queen received the greatest comfort from the unremitted attentions of her children. Nothing could exceed the filial tenderness and unwearied exertions of the Princesses Augusta and Mary, who ministered day and night by the couch of their afflicted parent; nor did either of them once leave the palace during the whole mournful period of care and sorrow.

"The Prince Regent also was equally affectionate, devoting as much time as he possibly could to the same pious duty; and when he was necessarily absent from Kew, messengers waited upon him hourly with a report of the state of Her Majesty. All indeed that could be done by sympathy or solicitude, watchfulness and obedience, was readily and anxiously performed, to ameliorate the sufferings of the royal patient, who, on her part, feelingly expressed her sense of the affectionate kindness with which she was treated by the whole of her family.

"But while on every countenance the look of cloudy apprehension was strongly marked, that of the royal sufferer displayed uncommon serenity, and even cheerfulness.

"When the lethargic symptoms disappeared, her mind seemed to rise above bodily pain; and the powers of conversation were renewed with an energy that surprised all her friends and attendants. The

most extraordinary thing of all, however, was the persuasion which prevailed in Her Majesty's thoughts almost to the very last that she should yet recover, and once more have the satisfaction of seeing the King. This was the cord which kept its firm hold upon life, when every hour gave fresh indications of dissolution. Amidst convulsive pangs, and the difficulty of finding rest, in a frame worn out by disease, the mind continually pointed in one direction, though the object of attraction was in a state of desolation and darkness. As long as this hope tended to cheer the spirits, it met with no discouragement; but when, from certain gangrenous appearances, it became evident that the last scene was near at hand, Her Majesty received the respectful suggestion that it would be proper to delay no longer the final settlement of her temporal affairs. This was only the day before her death; but though at first somewhat shocked by the intimation, she betrayed no symptoms of impatience. On the contrary, she immediately dictated her will to General Taylor; and having signed and delivered the instrument in due form, she calmly resigned herself to the approaching event. In the afternoon she sunk into a lethargic state; and so little was any immediate change expected, that at six o'clock Sir Henry Halford's carriage was ordered to convey him on his usual visit to Windsor. Scarcely, however, had the carriage drawn up to the door, when Her Majesty manifested such an increase of perturbation, as induced him to delay his departure; and soon afterwards the journey was put off for the night. Letters were in consequence despatched to the Prince Regent, who, accompanied by the Duke of York, arrived at the palace about ten o'clock, and after a short interview with the physicians, their royal highnesses, with the princesses, went into the sick chamber to see their august parent, who, however, was unconscious of their presence. From that hour till midnight the symptoms of the disorder developed themselves in such alarming succession, that the Regent determined to spend the night at Kew, which design he abandoned on finding that an abatement of suffering had taken place; and he returned with his brother to town. They had not been long gone before a fresh attack came on; and throughout the remainder of the night the Queen was almost in continual agony; the physicians, with Mr. Brande, remaining in the anti-chamber, and the princesses in the room with their parent, till the morning was far advanced.

"At half-past nine, on Tuesday the seventeenth, the bulletin was forwarded to town in the customary manner; but the bearer had not left the palace more than three quarters of an hour, when Her Majesty became so much worse, that a second messenger was hastened to Carlton House, to request the immediate attendance of the Prince. Couriers were also sent off to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other persons whose presence was desirable; and every thing plainly indicated the immediate approach of the last awful crisis.

"The Prince Regent and the Duke of York reached the palace a little after twelve o'clock; and immediately on their arrival Sir Henry Halford announced to them and their illustrious sisters the speedy termination of all their affectionate cares, which operated very powerfully upon their feelings, though for several weeks they had been fully pre-

pared for the catastrophe. Their royal highnesses then moved into the chamber of death, and surrounded the bed on which their venerable parent lay reclined; soon after which she became conscious of their presence, held out her hand to the Prince, and while in the act of grasping his, and smiling upon them all, exactly at twenty minutes past one, without a sigh or a struggle, she breathed her last, thus experiencing, after the most arduous trials and perilous conflicts, at the end of her course,

> "A death-like sleep,
> A gentle wafting to immortal life." (P. 585—589.)

If such a person was unpopular in life and in death, one is naturally induced to inquire, how is popularity to be procured. We wish the practical answer were not contained in the events now passing before us. The melancholy truth is this—that none but a worker of mischief can be popular. Not a single ingredient which goes towards the composition of a virtuous man or woman is necessary to form a part of the title to vulgar popularity; not a debt need be paid, not a duty performed, not a charity practised; let but the throne and altar be treated with sufficient contempt; calumny, falsehood, and derision, be unsparingly thrown on all that religion has enshrined, reason approved, authority established, and experience confirmed. Even royalty itself may become popular in a state of apostacy from its dignity and its character: it has only to place itself at the farthest remove from the model exhibited by the Queen of George the Third to become, under the reign of George the Fourth, the deluded instrument of a party provoked by disappointment to an ungenerous and profligate opposition, and the idol of an abused multitude, who suffer their understandings to be confounded, their senses cheated, and their hearts transformed, by persons whom we should be glad it were necessary to designate and describe. No honest man in the country can doubt to whom the character belongs.

With respect to the book of Dr. Watkins, we cannot praise its execution, but we have suggested its apology at the beginning of our article. English queens make no prominent figure in English history; constitutionally they cannot do it; the sphere of their ostensible agency is too well settled. The life of a good queen must indeed yield less variety of event than the life of any ordinary British lady; it is of necessity monotonously regular. It may display, indeed, the mother, the wife, and the mistress of the family, in all the perfection of their various and comprehensive relations; and in a queen the value of each of these excellencies is incalculably increased by the consideration of their consequences; all that belongs to accomplishment and intellectual grace is also properly hers

piety, benignity, and charity have their full exercise in her character and function, and majesty throws a soft umbrage over the whole, making the view more lovely, as in the scenery of nature, by a certain sacredness and retirement in its aspect. But if the life of a queen is, in England, to be rendered politically conspicuous, and historically prominent, it must be by starting out of her sphere, and occupying a place not assigned her by the constitution, or by violating her holy and loyal engagements, and disturbing the harmony, peace, and proprieties of public and social organization.

ART. VIII.—*A View of the Agriculture, Manufactures, Statistics, and State of Society, of Germany, and Parts of Holland and France. Taken during a Journey through those Countries in* 1819. By William Jacob, Esq. F. R. S. 4to. pp. 454. Murray. London, 1820.

MR. JACOB'S title-page excites expectations, which his work does not quite satisfy. Traversing hastily a part of Holland, he passed by Munster, Hanover, Brunswick, and Magdeburgh, to Berlin. Thence he went his course towards Dresden; and returned by the great central road of Germany through Leipzig and Frankfort to Mentz. From Mentz he hastened straight to Paris, and from Paris to London. When a traveller professes to describe a country, we do not expect that he shall have traversed it in all possible directions, but we do expect that he shall have visited all the important points. If this is requisite where the writer confines himself to one single kingdom, it becomes still more necessary when his subject comprehends many independent sovereignties. Now, Mr. Jacob, though he professes to give a view of the state of Germany, has not visited any of the Austrian territories. He has seen nothing of Bavaria, nothing of Wirtemberg, nothing of Baden, nothing of Mecklenburg. His route led him to none of those cities in the interior of Germany, as Nurmberg, Augsburg, Wurzburg, Bamberg, from which, after the lapse of the dark ages, civilization and industry were diffused through the empire. The banks of the Rhine are crowded with interesting cities, as Spire, Worms, Cologne, &c. distinguished as the scenes of many of the most important events of modern history, and all exhibiting a very peculiar character. Of these none, except Mentz, were visited by our traveller. He saw but little of Hesse

Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and the capital of neither. In short, he went out by the straight road to Berlin, and returned by the straight road from Dresden. These two routes are the best known, and the former is one of the least interesting in Germany.

It is only to admonish readers, not to censure the author, that we mention these circumstances. To state precisely what a traveller has seen is necessary, in order to prevent others from allowing more weight to his authority than it deserves; but it ought not to be considered as involving matter of accusation against him for not having seen more. Far from blaming Mr. Jacob, we think that he has gone over as much ground, and written as many pages in as little time, as could reasonably be expected from any man. For though his journey is stated in the title-page to have been made in 1819, we must not imagine that the whole year, or the greater part of it, was employed in travelling. He gives no dates in his book; but it appears that autumn was begun ere he left England, and was scarcely ended when he returned. A period of, probably, not quite three months is surely a very moderate allowance of time for examining "the agriculture, manufactures, statistics, and state of society of Germany and parts of France and Holland."

Mr. Jacob's book professes to treat of the agriculture, manufactures, statistics, and state of society of the countries visited. On the first topic he is abundantly copious. Let a man travel as fast as he will, he can always observe whether it is wheat or rye, potatoes or turnips, that are growing by the side of the road; whether the crops are plentiful or scanty; whether a plough is drawn by two horses or four. If he chooses to avail himself of his tongue and his ears, as well as of his eyes, he may dive into much more profound learning. A few questions, for instance, will procure him the requisite information concerning the rotation of crops, and the mode of feeding sheep and cows. Accordingly Mr. Jacob treats at great length of these and similar topics; but not having the good fortune to be deeply versed in the mysteries of agricultural dillettanti, we cannot judge of the soundness of his opinions. On manufactures, the information he gives is scanty; seldom amounting to more than a specification of the different articles that are made in this or that place, accompanied sometimes with an estimate of the quantity of each. Such particulars are easily learned: in general, it is not necessary to go farther for them than to the common guide-books of the country: but, like every thing else that is obtained with little labour, they are not of much value. He who pretends to give a view of the manufactures of a foreign country, should direct his

attention to the processes followed, to the ingredients and machines employed, to the quality of the articles, and to the circumstances by which their quality is affected. In every manufacture there is a long succession of steps, and none of these ought he to neglect. He must trace them all in due order Such a task, as it requires much patient observation, much reflection, and many laborious comparisons, demands also much time. It is therefore impossible that it could be performed by one who travels with the speed of Mr. Jacob.

Of statistics we shall say little; because the statistical part of a traveller's book is, in general, mere compilation. It might be written without quitting London; nothing more is necessary than to select from the most approved authors. In Germany, statistical writers abound to a degree, of which we, with all the luxury of our county histories, can form no idea. The nation is partial to books of travels; and as few of their authors wander beyond the limits of their native tongue, these books usually treat of some district of Germany. Mr. Jacob could, therefore, experience little difficulty in executing this part of his task.

The state of society is the last of the themes comprised within our author's plan. But on this interesting subject his book is extremely meagre. It could not well be otherwise. To give a picture of the society of a country, a man must have known many individuals intimately: he must have seen the mode in which they act and think under a great variety of circumstances: he must have observed the nature of their social connexions, and the forms and ends of their social meetings. All this requires penetration, time, and a considerable knowledge of the language and literature of the country. We do not doubt Mr. Jacob's penetration: but we have some hesitation with respect to his knowledge of the German language and literature; and we are sure, that the time he spent on his object was far short of that which would have been necessary for its decent accomplishment. Mr. Jacob does not appear to have remained more than nine or ten days at any one place. It was only at Dresden and Berlin that he staid so long; and, at both of these cities, his residence was interrupted by an excursion into the vicinity. Every where else he seems to have halted no longer than was necessary for refreshment and repose. In this way of travelling the acutest man could see but little of the interior of society.

Mr. Jacob passed through Holland by Rotterdam, the Hague, Harlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, into Westphalia. He has described these cities, and enumerated their curiosities, sometimes at greater length than was necessary. He has like-

wise specified the modes of cultivation which he observed on his course; but he gives us no information on the manufactures of the country, and no statistical accounts, unless we take as such the enumeration of the inhabitants of some of the towns. One farming establishment he seems to have visited with considerable attention. We quote what he says of it, as a favourable specimen of his mode of communicating agricultural details:

"It was my fortune to fall in with a very intelligent man, a considerable land-owner and farmer, who was very communicative, and appeared to be remarkably accurate. He accompanied me to the large village, or rather town of Aranagoen, where he resided, and where he invited me to see his premises. I learnt from him, that the usual course of cropping on the farms between the spot where the rich meadows ceased, and his estate, was the following. The land when cleaned was manured, and sowed with buck-wheat; after that, a second dressing of dung is administered, and after a single ploughing, rye is sowed. The rye is usually harvested in July, when turnips are sowed after a single ploughing. They have thus regularly three crops in every two years. The produce of the buck-wheat on an average of years, is a last, or 10½ quarters to four malts, or two morgens of land; or from twenty to twenty-two of our bushels to the acre. The rye is estimated to produce about two more of our bushels to the acre than the buck-wheat; but this year, as is the case in England, rye falls considerably below an average crop. The turnips are the worst, because the most neglected of the three crops. The seed instead of being of one kind, was red round, white round, tankard, and some other species, with which I was not acquainted, all mingled together. The plants were healthy, and quite as thick as was necessary; but though the bulbs were formed, they had not been hoed, nor had even the harrows been drawn through to thin them. It is therefore impossible they should become a tolerable crop. This was the only deficiency I noticed, either on my companion's land, or in the track which we had spent two hours together in passing over. As far as I could judge, the portion of manure administered before the buck-wheat and rye, was small. I could not hit on any measure with which my companion was acquainted, that enabled me to reduce his quantities to cubic yards, or our common cart-loads; but I was led to guess that not more than seven or eight of our Surry and Kent cart-loads were applied to the acre. My informant, in a language between Dutch and German, but very intelligible to me, remarked, speaking of manure, "*wenig und ofters ist besser als fiel und selten;*" a little frequently is better than much and seldom. I observed the farm-yards, and the hogsties, were well bedded with a fine sand, but that very little straw was applied to be converted into manure. There can be no doubt but such sand will imbibe and retain the fæces of the animals; but it may be doubted, if so much ammonia is administered to the land by this mode as by the putrefactive fermentation which is produced by the abundance of straw, that is trodden in with the exuviæ in our English farm-yards." (P. 48—50.)

The farms in Holland are in general small, varying from fifty to a hundred acres. The price of land is about 60*l.* per acre, including the farm houses and other necessary buildings; and the rent, according to Mr. Jacob, gives a return of $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{2}{3}$, or 3 per cent. From facts, however, which he himself states, it would appear that the profit of money invested in land is higher than this. Land which may be bought for 800 guilders, lets at 36, and what cost 500, at 21; that is, there is a return of $4\frac{1}{2}$ or $4\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. on the purchase money. The landlord, we admit, has the land-tax of 25 per cent. to pay; but this, though a most weighty consideration to the proprietor in the calculation of his income, is not to be taken to account in ascertaining the profit of a particular application of capital.

The operation of draining, and the maintenance of the dykes, are two main circumstances in the agricultural economy of Holland. As there is little or no declivity to carry off the water, recourse is had to the aid of numerous and powerful windmills. By ancient custom each district has its windmill, to which every occupier of land pays certain duties. The proprietor of the mill is on his part obliged to keep it in repair, and the government exercises a superintending power, to see that he does not neglect his duty. The dykes are a still more important concern.

"The road I had hitherto travelled was on the top of the dykes, which confine within the canals the whole water of the country. As far as my eye could determine, these dykes are on the side towards the fields, about thirteen or fourteen feet in height, but varying according to the elevation or depression of the land. The slope from the top to the bottom forms an angle of about forty-five degrees. I thought them about twenty-four feet wide at the top, and if both sides sloped equally, they would be somewhat more than double that width at the bottom. The inner side, however, borders a canal, which is usually from four to six feet in depth. The bottom of the canal must, consequently, be from six to eight feet higher than the level of the surrounding fields. From this situation of the water above the land, it will be readily conceived, that great solicitude must exist to maintain the dykes in good condition; and that the expense of clearing the fields of the floods, by pumping the water to such height must be enormous. The dykes are formed, and kept in repair, by bundles of willows interlaced, so as to form a slanting wall, and the interstices are filled with earth well puddled, and thereby rendered compact. The expense of maintaining the dykes is supported by a tax laid on the surrounding lands, which is levied by commissioners, according to long established usage, in such a manner as to create little discontent, and scarcely any suspicion of unfairness. The expenditure in human labour is great, but is much exceeded by the cost of the willows, though they grow near the places where they are wanted, in very extensive plantations." (P. 15.)

A part of this passage is not intelligible. It is stated that on the inner side of the dyke there is a canal four or six feet deep, and it is inferred that the bottom of the canal must therefore be six or eight feet above the level of the country. The inference may be true as a matter of fact, but does not follow from the premises. It may easily be conceived that the failure of any part of these dykes is attended with the most destructive consequences.

"One of the richest tracts of country in the vicinity of Arnhem has been often exposed to tremendous inundations. These are frequently felt at the breaking up of a long frost; but in no instance so calamitously as in the winter 1808-9. A violent tempest from the north-west had raised the waters of the Zuyder sea, some feet above the highest mark of the spring-tides, and the waves beat with unusual violence against the dykes, constructed to break their fury. The thaw on the Upper Rhine had increased the quantity and the force of its waters, which brought down masses of ice fourteen feet in height, and more than half a mile in length; to which the embankments, softened by the thaw, and somewhat injured, presented an insufficient barrier. A breach made in one part soon extended itself, and the torrent quickly covered the country, bearing before it by its force, the villages, the inhabitants, and the cattle. The height of the Zuyder sea prevented the water from finding an outlet; and it consequently remained on the ground for a long period, in spite of the exertions of the surviving inhabitants. By this event, more than seventy houses were totally destroyed, a far greater number irretrievably damaged, and of nine hundred families, more than five hundred were rendered utterly destitute; more than four hundred dead bodies were left on the borders of the current, and at the city of Arnhem, five hundred persons, mostly women and children, with many hundred head of cattle, were rescued from a watery grave, by the hazardous heroism of the inhabitants, who ventured in boats to their rescue." (P. 57, 58.)

The whole expense of maintaining the drains, dykes, and roads (exclusively of the very heavy tolls on the latter), amounts to about one-eighth of the rent. It is borne by the occupiers of lands.

Mr. Jacob is of opinion that the agriculture of Holland has been improved since its occupation by the French. He is most probably in the right; for, after the country had lost all its colonies, and all its foreign commerce, much capital must have been forced into agriculture, not as a preferable employment, but as the only channel which was open. The amelioration of the agricultural aspect of the land may have been the result of general misery and ruin. Some of the circumstances, however, on which our traveller forms his opinion of the improvement of Holland, are of a dubious character:—"The signs of recent, if not of present, prosperity," says he, "were very distinctly to be

seen in every walk around this city, and the number of houses of public entertainment which are decorated with the marks of improvement, are evidences of a degree of ease in the circumstances of many of the inhabitants at least." An increase in the number and elegance of houses of public entertainment is no sure sign of increasing prosperity. It may often be a proof of nothing more than a change in the public manners. The houses of public resort are, with reference to the comparative population of the two cities, and comparative luxury of the two countries, much more numerous and elegant in Paris than in London; not because there is more wealth in the former than in the latter, but because the habits of life in these two capitals are dissimilar. A Frenchman finds his happiness *away from home*, an Englishman *at home*. The circumstance specified by Mr. Jacob may be nothing more than the result of the introduction of less domestic habits than formerly prevailed in Holland.

It is pleasing to find, that the religious character of the Dutch has not been contaminated by the example of their rulers and oppressors. They still continue true to the faith and worship of their fathers. No one can preserve a decent character in society without attending regularly the public service of the sect to which he belongs. The consequence is, that on Sunday the churches are crowded with attentive audiences. Nothing is of more importance to national morality than this. The labouring classes must have a day of repose; but the period of repose becomes too often a period of vicious indulgence. They can be saved from depravity only by the regular practice of attending the public rites of religion on the day of exemption from toil. It is to be regretted that with us public opinion does not exert its influence more decidedly on this point.

A circumstance which at first struck us as remarkable is, that in Holland Catholics are preferred as domestics both by their own sect and by Protestants. The reason assigned is, that they are supposed to be more honest, because their priests will not absolve them till they have made restitution. The cause, we apprehend, ought to be expressed more generally. The Catholics are not the predominating sect; they cannot number among their votaries many of the higher ranks; as their conduct is thus more liable to remark and reproof, it becomes necessary for the priests to keep a stricter watch over the actions of their flocks, than is exercised by the ruling religion.

Neither the French language nor French literature, in spite of all the efforts of the revolutionary government, has made much progress in Holland. The books, which Mr. Jacob observed in the shops, were chiefly translations from the English, some from the German; only a few from the French. This we hail as an

auspicious symptom of public feeling, public taste, and public principle.

Holland is suffering under a distress similar to that of which we complain, though much higher in degree. During the operation of the Continental system, a considerable portion of the soil was employed in the growth of tobacco. Since the renewal of intercourse with America, that article is imported cheaper and better in quality than that which is produced at home. Thus the tobacco cultivators have been ruined. To add to their distress, all other agricultural produce has so fallen in price as to afford little or no profit. In vain do they turn their attention to commerce; the prospect in that quarter is equally dreary; for, in their ports, all is still and idle. By our recent restrictive laws they are deprived of that market for their cheese and butter, which they were accustomed to find in England. Their transit corn trade is likewise at an end; for our ports are generally shut, and it is impossible to foresee, at a sufficient distance of time, when they will be open and when they will remain closed. At the same time, the taxes are heavier than under the French usurpation, not from any fault of the government, which is confessedly economical, but merely in consequence of a very obvious law of all human society—that the institutions for the public administration and defence of an independent state must cost more than the government of a province of a large military empire. Displeased at paying more than formerly, the people, without attending to the reason of the case, are dissatisfied with the government which makes them pay. The general discontent is exasperated among particular classes by particular causes. The commercial part of the community, for instance, accuses the government of undue partiality, because some of the burdens on agriculture have been lightened, and replaced by taxes that affect trade. They forget the enormous direct contribution of 25 per cent. paid by the proprietors of land, and do not call to mind that the minute taxes on the other classes must be very numerous, to equal this one imposition. Such is the state of Holland. The administration of a country so situated is a difficult and delicate task; and what renders it still more arduous is, the difference of the national characters, and the supposed contrariety of the interests of Holland and Belgium. The difference of character is delineated by Mr. Jacob in one of the best expressed passages of his book.

"In the Seven Provinces, which are usually distinguished by the name of Holland, from the most important of the number, there is still kept alive a chivalrous spirit of independence; there exist recollections and associations, which recall the patriotic minds to the periods when their ancestors resisted the power of Spain in its zenith, con-

tended with England for the dominion of the seas, and, with proudly remembered triumphs, checked the ambitious hopes of the Grand Monarque. The numerous monuments in their churches to the memory of their heroes, and the trophies that their public buildings display, have kept alive this spirit; the late conduct of their fleet before Algiers, and the praises conferred on it by our Exmouth, have blown into a flame a spark, which French oppression had never totally extinguished.

"In Belgium, on the other hand, the name of independence has for three centuries been unheard; submission to masters over whom they had no check, by whom a forced obedience was required, and who administered none of those consoling flatteries which the most rigid despots find it necessary to use towards their subjects, was their sole duty, and in that duty they were fully instructed. Instead of investigating they submitted, instead of inquiring they yielded, and thus sunk in mental acquirements, to a state in which they were fitted to be either the instruments or the subjects of oppression, as best suited the purposes of those governors who happened to obtain authority over them. Of every religion we should speak with respect; but whilst that of Holland was reasonable, sincere, and tolerant, that of Belgium was even below the general level of the corrupt church, of which they formed the most irrational part, in every thing that was childish, superstitious, and persecuting." (P. 71, 72.)

Upon leaving Holland, Mr. Jacob entered the district, which constituted formerly the bishoprick of Munster. The roads are bad, and the agriculture negligent and unskilful. The mode in which the lands are held, opposes here a powerful bar to improvement. The farms are very small: the occupiers are bound to perform certain services to the lord, who is often entitled to the feed of the whole land after harvest. This seems to indicate a very rude state of society: yet even with us traces of a similar practice are to be found; for we have towns, where the freemen have a right to put their cattle after harvest into the adjacent fields. In some of the larger villages manufactures are attempted: and there the manufacturer complains of the introduction of English goods; the consumer, of the heavy duties with which they are burdened. Such are the prejudices which every where exist, in consequence of the apparent opposition of the interests of different classes. No rulers can eradicate them: yet all should avoid fostering them into strength by taking part with either side.

No district of Europe has, within the last few years, changed masters more frequently than this. It has been an independent sovereignty,—afterwards part of the kingdom of Holland —at one time annexed to Prussia—next incorporated with the French empire—then included in the kingdom of Westphalia—and finally, by the treaty of Vienna, transferred to Prussia

anew. Each successive master has harassed it with taxation and conscription; and discontent runs high at present on account of the increase of the public burdens. In spite of all this, "the numerous marks of recent improvement are very visible. New houses, barns, and inclosures, with young plantations of great extent, are indications that cannot be mistaken. They cannot have come into existence without some increase in the capital of the country. They appear every where and are conclusive evidence in favour of the opinion, that wealth and comfort have increased, notwithstanding the frequent complaints I heard of deterioration having taken place." (P. 88.) Throughout this district the principal crop is rye. Rye and potatoes form the common food of the inhabitants. Wheat is grown only for a distant market: and as distant markets are uncertain, the farmers prefer a crop which finds its consumers in their own families and immediate vicinity.

The three Westphalian provinces of Prussia, together with the bishoprick of Osnabrück, now annexed to Hanover, contain above a million and a quarter of inhabitants. This population is frugal and parsimonious in the extreme; and a part of it migrates during the summer months into Holland, allured by the attraction of high wages. The land is in general fertile; yet in spite of these advantages, the exports are calculated not to exceed 350,000*l.* annually; and the produce so little exceeds the actual consumption, that a season of dearth is followed by the most frightful misery. The cause of this misery is to be found, not, as many will suppose in the mal-administration of the government, but in the internal structure of society. Farms seldom exceed 40 acres in extent; they descend from father to son; the occupiers reside in villages, and the labour is performed by the members of the family. The rent is paid in produce, and in the labour of the tenant and his horses, rarely in money. Where a small money payment is reserved as part of the rent, it is discharged frequently by monthly instalments. The effect of such a system is, that each spot of ground must have a greater number of men and horses, than would be requisite, if the farms were large enough to give scope for the division and skilful application of labour. The consumption is thus increased. No surplus remains to the cultivator: he can accumulate no capital, and introduce no improvement. He exists, but he can do no more: it is scarcely possible for him to ameliorate his condition without exertions of diligence and foresight, to which he will neither be encouraged by example nor stimulated by competition.

We may quote here an instance of those inadvertencies, not a little perplexing to the reader, which occasionally present

themselves in Mr. Jacob's work. At page 103 he says "that the products of Westphalia beyond the consumption amount to five shillings and eight pence per head on each inhabitant, or twelve shillings and sixpence per acre on the extent of land." In the preceding page he has informed us, that this country contains 1,262,730 inhabitants, and 6,186,000 acres of land. According to the first statement, the population is in the ratio of one person to $\frac{7}{15}$ of an acre; according to the latter, it is nearly in the ratio of one to every five acres. We cannot reconcile the inconsistency.

We have not followed Mr. Jacob into the towns which he visited; because his notices of them are in general very meagre and cursory. At Hanover he enters more into details. That city deserves all he says in its praise. It is perhaps the most agreeable among the second rate towns of Germany. Such places as Cassel, Darmstadt, Carlsruhe, or Potsdam, strike the spectator as mere excrescences of courts: take away the court, and the city dwindles into a paltry village. Hanover on the contrary seems of natural growth; there is nothing in it to suggest the idea of its being merely an accumulation of appendages to a palace. The manners of the people are mild; the women are highly accomplished. Add to this, that they have one powerful recommendation to an Englishman—the pride they take in their connection with England, and their strong attachment to their royal family.

The library at Hanover seems to have attracted Mr. Jacob's particular attention. He enumerates the curiosities that are to be seen in it, but forgets or overlooks the most interesting of them all; we mean the immense collection of the manuscripts of Leibnitz. These manuscripts are so numerous, that the mere manual labour of writing them, without the task of meditation and study, would have been ample employment for the life of any ordinary man. They are under the particular charge of the conservator of the library.

Mr. Jacob visited three farming establishments in the vicinity of the town. The following is an account of the best of them.

"The high reputation of Amtman Meyer, who resides about eight miles from Hanover, induced me to visit his establishment, where I was not so fortunate as to meet the proprietor, who had been described to me as the most scientific agriculturist in the vicinity. His amt was still more extensive than that of Calenburg, and included within the area, besides his dwelling, and those of the superintendents of his farm and the barns, stables, sheep-house and cattle-stalls, a very neat church. The land round this establishment shows more abundant marks of good cultivation, and more proofs of the liberal application of manure, than I had before witnessed in Hanover.

" The *kohl-rüben* had attained a good size, and were flourishing, whilst a considerable breadth of mangel-wurzel was growing; but both of these crops appeared to me not sufficiently hoed to give the roots space to extend to the dimensions which they would attain by a different mode of culture. I observed here the first stack of clover-hay that had met my sight since I entered Germany. Around the borders of some fields were small patches of tobacco, such as I had indeed before noticed in the course of my rides. I was told the quality of it was bad, and too weak for any but boys to smoke it. They seem to learn this abominable practice at a very early age. I was surprised one day, by being asked by a shepherd boy, of whom I had made some inquiry, and who appeared not more than twelve years of age, if I could give him any fire, or the materials for supplying him with it, as he had lost either his flint or his steel, and could not light his pipe.

" Contrary to the usual course in such establishments, the cows here are farmed to a Dutch dairy-man, who professes to make butter and cheese of the same kind as is produced in Holland. The cows, from ninety to one hundred, are let to him for one thousand rix dollars annually. In the summer months they are depastured on the meadow lands, by the side of the river. In the winter, they are allowed ten pounds of hay, and fourteen pounds of straw, daily. I heard sad lamentations on the dryness of the present summer, of the want of food on the meadows, and the consequent scarcity and poverty of the milk. The contrivances of the Dutchman to save labour, were very admirable. The milk and cream were in a cool cellar, the butter was churned by a very simple machine worked by a wheel, in the apartment at the top of the house; this was turned by a boy, and by it one hundred pounds of butter were at some seasons made daily, in about two hours. The presses for the cheese were worked by the same machine which churned the butter.

" The attempt to make various kinds of cheese from the same land is necessarily futile. Cheese denominated Swiss, Dutch, Cheshire and Gloucester, is made by this man. I tasted each, but could perceive no similarity to those of either of the districts by the names of which they were distinguished, nor any great difference betwixt one and another; for all, if not absolutely bad, were at least very indifferent." (P. 123—125.)

In Hanover religion is in a more flourishing state, than in the rest of Germany. Every candidate for holy orders, after a classical education at a grammar school, must have passed three years at a university, two of which must have been spent at Göttingen. The livings, though the most of them are nominally in the gift of the crown, are left to the disposition of the consistories, who give them according to seniority of application, with a preference, however, of those who have distinguished themselves in the university examinations. After remaining seven years in his first benefice, a clergyman may apply to be removed to a better. He then undergoes a rigorous ex-

amination, and, if found to have neglected his professional studies, loses all chance of promotion.

The population of Hanover is stated at 1,325,000, and the annual deaths, at 31,264. The deaths are therefore not quite in the proportion of one in forty-three; a circumstance, which, if correct, proves the existence of a great degree of comfort among the people. This proportion of deaths, however, is so much below the general rate of mortality in Europe, that we suspect the accuracy of Mr. Jacob's information. The population of Brunswick is said to be in a better state than that of Hanover; yet in the town of Brunswick (and in so small a place the town cannot be much less healthy than the country at large) the annual mortality amounts to one in thirty.

Mr. Jacob passes from his description of Hanover, to some statistical details respecting the population, agriculture, and commerce of Brunswick. One of his statements is extraordinary. "Brunswick," says he, "is favourably situated for the passage of goods to the great fairs of Leipzig, as by going through it, they escape the Prussian dominions, whose many vexatious regulations are impediments to the transit trade." How it is possible to go from Brunswick to Leipzig without traversing Prussian territory, we know not. Mr. Jacob surely would not lead us to the Bavarian frontier, and so make us enter Saxony on its south-western limit.

From Brunswick, Mr. Jacob passed into Prussia. This kingdom is composed of many different provinces, extremely unlike each other in their aspect, and in the natural qualities of the soil. Our author's rout gave him no opportunity of remarking this variety. He went by Magdeburgh to Berlin, about 100 English miles, and from Berlin to Dresden, which is about an equal distance, but of which only $\frac{1}{3}$ are in Prussia. Thus he saw but little of Prussia, and that little was by no means the most interesting part of it. The tract of country, which he passed through, is extremely monotonous. It exhibits only dreary sands, covered sometimes by scanty crops of rye, sometimes by vast forests of fir, and sometimes expanding in naked deformity to the eye. After the harvest is over, the traveller might without much difficulty believe himself transported into the wilds of Arabia. Our author has wisely said little on this part of his journey: but in recompense he is more minute than usual in his description of Potsdam and Berlin, and gives both of them much more praise than is their due. He speaks of them as cities of palaces. It is true, they have a showy air which strikes at the first entry, but their splendour palls upon the spectator in a few hours, and their dead monotony is all that remains. At Potsdam, Mr. Jacob in his des-

cription of Sans Souci, says nothing of the gallery of pictures annexed to that palace, though the best in Prussia, and more worthy of attention than Frederick's dogs.

Mr. Jacob talks of the library as a noble edifice. Is he aware that the lower story of this noble edifice was, perhaps still is, a stable for cavalry horses, and that the front of it is said to have been adorned, till very lately, with the impudently epigrammatic inscription of "*Musis et Mulis.*" He mentions, as the greatest curiosity in the library, a book with beautifully illuminated portraits of Luther, Melancthon, and other early preachers or supporters of the reformation. It is, in fact, not a *book with portraits*, but a number of portraits bound together; and he forgets the sole circumstance which constitutes its value, that the portraits are all by the hand of Lucas Cranach.

Perhaps the single object best worth visiting at Berlin is the monument of the late Queen of Prussia. Mr. Jacob states that he could not see it, as it is "open only on the day of her death, the nineteenth of each month." It may be seen on any day. We ourselves have seen it *not* upon the nineteenth of the month. There is a keeper, who can easily be found, and will open it to a stranger at any time.

Our author mentions, as an obstacle to the diffusion of the knowledge of English in Germany, the impossibility of finding persons qualified to teach it, who would be satisfied with the scanty remuneration they would receive. "Lessons of music and drawing," he says, "are not paid for at the rate of more than eight-pence or ten-pence each hour, and the teachers of our tongue can scarcely obtain so much." In opposition to this, we know that lessons of Italian are frequently paid at the rate of two shillings, half-a-crown, and three shillings; and that not long since a lady, who gave lessons, received somewhat more than three shillings per hour. At Dresden, where there is much less wealth than at Berlin, an Englishman has established himself as a language master, and he is paid at the rate of three shillings per hour.

Mr. Jacob has introduced among his notices of Berlin an account of the present literary taste of Germany, and in doing this has laid down positions to which we cannot subscribe. He says, that Schiller is the poet most highly prized. Highly prized he no doubt is, and by strangers placed on the summit of the Teutonic Parnassus; but the Germans themselves maintain that he is equalled, and a great majority of them believe, surpassed by Goethe. In beauty and richness of language Goethe is allowed to possess an undisputed preference, though his merits are less perceptible to a person not very familiar with the language, than the solemn, pensive, sublime graces of

Schiller's muse. Our traveller found also, that Kant and Wieland (not Weiland as Mr. Jacob baptizes him) were considered obsolete. To his experience we can only oppose our own. Kant's writings, particularly his Anthropologie, are still studied by the young men: lectures are still given, and commentaries still written and read, upon his philosophy. To talk of Wieland as obsolete, is really too ridiculous. Oberon is more read than any other poem in the language, and must continue a favourite till the language falls into disuse. At the present moment, a splendid and expensive edition of Wieland is in the course of publication; and in a country, where books are bought by few except those who read them, such a circumstance is a decided proof that the author is not obsolete. "Southey," adds Mr. Jacob, "is less read than I should have expected. His Curse of Kehama is in the taste which Germany valued twenty years ago, but seems of late to have been abandoned." The taste, which Germany valued twenty years ago, was the taste which produced, and applauded Schiller's Wallenstein. We are aware of no one point of similarity between the Curse of Kehama and the characteristics of German poetry. Mr. Jacob is correct in stating, that, in Germany, Scott is preferred to Byron: some of Scott's novels are translated, though, as was natural to expect, very imperfectly.

From literature let us pass to a subject in which Mr. Jacob is obviously more at home: we mean agriculture. From Berlin he made an excursion to the estate of Von Thaer, a celebrated German agriculturist, and the president of a species of agricultural college.

"The royal institution, of which Von Thaer is the director, and which occupies a considerable portion of his extensive buildings, has three professors besides himself. One for mathematics, chemistry, and geology; one for veterinary knowledge; and a third for botany and the use of the different vegetable productions in the materia medica, as well as for entomology. Besides these, an experienced agriculturist is engaged, whose office it is to point out to the pupils the mode of applying the sciences to the practical business of husbandry. The course commences in September. During the winter months, the time is occupied in mathematics, and the first six books of Euclid are studied; and in the summer, the geometrical knowledge is practically applied to the measurement of land, timber, buildings, and other objects. The first principles of chemistry are unfolded. By a good, but economical apparatus, various experiments are made both on a large and small scale. For the larger experiments, the brew-house and still-house, with their respective fixtures, are found highly useful." (P. 183, 184.)

"There is a large botanical garden, arranged on the system of the Swedish naturalist, kept in excellent order, with all the plants labelled,

and the Latin as well as German names. An Herbarium with a good collection of dried plants, which is constantly increasing, is open to the examination of the pupils, as well as skeletons of the different animals, and casts of their several parts; which must be of great use in the veterinary pursuits. Models of agricultural implements, especially of ploughs, are preserved in a museum, which is stored as well with such as are familiar in Germany, as with those used in England, or other countries. I remarked the absence but of two implements known in this country, viz. the mole plough, and a new machine recently invented for sowing small seeds. The first of these would certainly be of little use in most parts of Germany; and the other is so new, that, excellent as it is, its adoption is by no means general, even in England." (P. 185.)

" I surveyed, in company with Von Thaer, every part of his farm. The wheat had been put in the ground very early. It was all drilled with a machine of his own invention, which is rather an improvement on our English drills. It forms nine rows at each time, is drawn by two horses, and the seed is well covered by the rakes affixed to the machine. It is well contrived for the soil in which it is employed, but it would answer in very few districts of England without being made considerably heavier, by strengthening some of its parts.

" The wheat had been drilled after a crop of pease, well manured; but though it looked of a good colour and healthy, it was weak, considering the length of time it had been sowed. With his excellent farming, he assured me, that his wheat did not average more than 16 bushels to the acre. In the quantity of seed, he seemed to me parsimonious, not drilling quite a bushel to the acre, which, he says, experience has taught him is sufficient. The saving of seed, in his opinion, is the only circumstance which makes drilling preferable to sowing broad cast, as far as regards wheat, rye, barley and oats. The proportion of wheat in this large farm is very small. That grain not being used as the common food of man within the country, its price fluctuates with the demands of other countries, and with their prohibitory laws; and, besides, its produce is very variable. Rye, on the other hand, finds the far greater part of its consumers at home; the variation in price is much less, and on this soil its produce is more uniform. The rye was partly drilled and partly sowed broad-cast, being of a great extent, the larger portion was done in the latter mode. In the whole, about four hundred acres were in rye. The average produce, the result of statistical accounts, kept with the greatest accuracy for a series of years, has been twenty-two bushels and a half to the acre. From the season of the year no barley was growing; but the average produce of that grain, as I learnt, when sowed after a winter fallow and pease, is twenty-three bushels to the acre; but when sowed after rye or wheat, (a most reprehensible practice, though that commonly followed) only sixteen bushels to the acre. The pease yield but little, not more than three for one of the quantity sowed, and they are cultivated at Moegelin, more for the sake of the haulm than of the pulse; and the abundance of that, which is considered excellent food for sheep, is the principal inducement to grow

them as a fallow crop. The rotation of crops here is various; but that most usually pursued is, first, potatoes or pease, followed by rye, clover, and wheat." (P. 174, 175.)

"The favourite article of cultivation with Von Thaer is potatoes, on which he sets a peculiarly high value. His mode is simple and easy. They are planted in rows after the plough, at the rate of sixteen bushels to the acre. When the plants are up, they are earthed with a double-breasted plough, first, parallel to the rows in which they are planted, and then with the same plough the furrows are crossed, thus leaving the potatoes in small square patches. When at maturity, the soil is turned up with a three-pronged fork, and all the roots carefully collected by women and children. The stalks are far more abundant than those of our potatoes, and yield, I should think, from what I saw, as four to one. This haulm is carefully turned, dried, and collected into stacks, and is used as litter for the horses and cows instead of straw, which is here converted into food by cutting it small.

"Like all his countrymen, Von Thaer prefers German small potatoes to our large ones; they are less mealy, and have a different flavour. His preference, if his facts are correct, of which I have no doubt, is certainly supported by better reasons than I have heard from any other person in this country. He contended, that the nutritive quality of the potatoe depends on the quantity of starch that it contains; that, upon analysis, the smaller kind of potatoes that are here cultivated, contain a far greater proportion of starch than any that grow to a larger size; that, beyond a certain size, which, by giving the roots sufficient room, they will naturally attain, the increase is only water, and can scarcely be termed nutriment.

"This decisive judgment, founded on chemical analysis, extends itself to the comparison betwixt turnips and potatoes. The soil is admirably calculated for turnips, but the long continued droughts on the continent, where the weather is more settled than in England, operates to prevent their beneficial culture, as he has experienced in his own practice. He has found turnips a crop of uncertain produce, and, in some years, they have utterly failed; and, in that case, one year's use of the land has been lost. In potatoes, there is no risk of a total failure, and, comparatively, but little variation in the quantity that is yielded. He illustrated the difference between the potatoe and the turnip culture very ably, as far as related to his own soil and climate; but very wisely did not attempt to prove that it was preferable in England, or in many other parts of Germany.

"The average produce of his potatoes, in a series of years, has been three hundred bushels to the acre; this he compared with what I stated to be the average weight of an acre of turnips on good land, as well cultivated as his is, in England; and which I stated below the truth, at twenty tons, because I wished not to be suspected of exaggeration to support an hypothesis. He contended, that his average growth of three hundred bushels, or five tons of potatoes, contained more nutriment than twenty tons of turnips, because the proportion

of starch in potatoes to that in turnips, was much more than four to one. I did not urge the quantity of mucilage in the turnip, because I wished to learn his views rather than to suggest my own." (P. 176, 177.)

"Von Thaer, with the assistance of the professors of the institution over which he presides, has arranged the various kinds of wool on cards, and discriminated with geometrical exactness, the fineness of that produced from different races of sheep. The finest are some specimens from Saxony, his own are the next. The fine Spanish wool from Leon is inferior to his, in the proportion of eleven to sixteen. The wool from Botany Bay, of which he had specimens, is inferior to the Spanish. He had arranged, by a similar mode, the relative fineness of the wools produced on the different parts of the body of the sheep, so as to bring under the eye, at one view, the comparative value of the different parts of the fleeces; and he had, also, ascertained the proportionate weight of those different parts. The application of optics and geometry, by which the scales that accompany the specimens are constructed, is such, as to leave no doubts on any mind of the accuracy of the results. The scales, indeed, show only the fineness, and not the length of the fibre; which is, I believe, of considerable importance in the process of spinning. The celebrity of the Moegelin sheep is so widely diffused, that the ewes and rams are sold at enormous prices to the agriculturists in East Prussia, Poland, and as far as Russia." (P. 179, 180.)

This geometrical scale for wool is science growing wanton with its subject; geometry and optics have as much to do with the texture of this substance as grammar or Greek prosody.

One fact which Mr. Jacob has stated concerning the manufactures of Prussia is of great importance.

"In the department of the Roer, or as it is now called, of Aachen, just within the boundary line that separates the Prussian dominions from France, the towns of Eupen, Aachen, Montjoie, Stolberg, and Malmedy, prepare from the native wool the finest cloths and cassimeres, the annual value of which is, at present, about 1,250,000 pounds sterling, and they give employment to 50,000 workmen, as well as to every kind of machinery that has been invented in England or elsewhere. The fabrics have been much improved; the manufacturers contend, that their cloths are superior in quality, and lower in price, than any that we make; and, at the last fair at Leipsic, where the buyers and sellers met in great numbers, in consequence of a dispute on the subject, a committee was appointed, who were neither interested in the manufactures of England, nor in those of the Rhine, but who, as purchasers, may be presumed to be both competent and impartial judges, to examine and report on the best cloth in the city from the two countries. Their decision, I am sorry to say, was unanimously in favour of the cloths from Eupen. The encouragement given to them by the merchants from Greece and from Turkey, who

meet the manufacturers at Leipsic, and at Frankfort on the Oder, has acted as a stimulus to greater exertions, and to a greater extension of their several establishments. The fine cloths of Eupen appear to me not to be sheared so close as ours, or to have more wool raised by the teazles; so that, though they do not look so beautiful when new, they can be worn longer before they become threadbare. (P. 245, 246.)

Such a result in one case makes us tremble for similar results in others.

Morality at Berlin is at a low pitch. Of the children born, one out of five is illegitimate. Where illegitimacy is so common, the want of chastity can be no very deep stain on the female character, and chastity will necessarily decline where the violation of it is not severely punished by public opinion. Such a state of public morals is a proof that religion is either not believed or not regarded. Even the clergy make little scruple of announcing opinions which no man of common sense can reconcile with a sincere faith.

" The clergy imbibed the sceptical philosophy, and carried it to an extent far beyond what it has ever reached among any of our sectaries, who have wished to retain the name of Christians. The belief in miracles is so distinguishing a line betwixt infidelity and revealed religion, that the teachers could not with any decency deny their existence, and still hold their ecclesiastical character; but they symbolized them in such a way, as to leave their auditors uncertain whether the various miraculous facts, recorded in the New and Old Testaments, were occurrences that actually took place, or merely figurative relations of other events which happened naturally, and according to the usual course of affairs.

" Thus the miraculous draught of fishes would, by their mode of illustrating it, be nothing more than a much greater degree of success in fishing, than was usually experienced, which is thus recorded to excite gratitude to the great Giver of all good things. The miraculous increase of the loaves and fishes, the healing the sick, and other similar facts, were treated in the same manner. They were not denied, but so represented, as to leave the auditors to infer either that they were real events correctly recorded, or beneficial fictions to illustrate the divine goodness, as might best accord with the previous views of the auditors. The love of paradox, and the desire of distinction, seemed to have excited a degree of rivalry among the clergy in wild and absurd speculations. Thus one of them who calls himself a Christian, who professes to believe in the authenticity, if not the inspiration, of the Scriptures, has published a work to prove that our Saviour did not ascend to heaven, nor did his disciples believe that he had so ascended; but lived twenty-five years in retirement, having occasional intercourse with them. He contends, that what is rendered ' a cloud received him,' should be, a fog intercepted their vision. With a most abundant display of critical acumen, and of great knowledge of the Greek language, he has defended this absurd fancy.

This account of the work I had from a very respectable clergyman, who lamented over the wanderings of his brethren, and had an intention of replying to this piece of folly, which, he assured me, had met with very extensive circulation among the learned, but was too abstruse to produce any mischief with others. The resurrection of our Lord, a fact upon which the whole of the external testimony of our faith rests, was either neglected or disbelieved by those who were the public instructors, and who confined their teaching to such moral topics, as could be enforced from motives of a social nature, rather than from the more powerful one of a future strict account." (P. 210, 211.)

This picture unfortunately is not exaggerated. Not more than a year ago, the theological chair in one of the most distinguished German universities was filled by a dignitary of the Lutheran church, a man celebrated for his learning and respected for his virtues, who, both in his lectures and in his writings, taught a system founded on the denial of all our Saviour's miracles. This evil Mr. Jacob thinks arises " from the great equality of ranks among the clergy. It is not that the whole revenue of the church is too small, so much as from there being no great inducements to aim at distinction in their own profession, that makes them wander into extravagancies. A pastor can never rise much higher, and the prospect of rising at all is very slight: hence, instead of adhering to the faith of his church, which he must do if he hoped to rise in it, he indulges in speculations which lead him to wild opinions, and bewilder his auditors in the same perplexing maze." The reason here assigned is fantastical, and the remedy proposed inadequate. It were well for mankind if such a mischief could be cured by the nomination of deans, bishops, and archbishops. Mr. Jacob's plan might cherish hypocrisy, but could never strengthen faith. Perversion of intellect can be cured only by an alteration of intellectual discipline. In Italy you have the most splendid of earthly hierarchies; yet no where is infidelity more prevalent among the clergy. In Scotland there is absolute equality of rank among the ministers of the church (which is not the case in the Lutheran church), and a very near approach to equality of emolument; yet no where is infidelity more rare among the clergy. It is a mistake, therefore, to ascribe the scepticism of Germany to the Lutheran form of ecclesiastical government, or to hope to cure it by working on the avarice and ambition of the clerical order. The true root of the evil lies in the visionary system of philosophy which has long occupied the learned, in the corruption of manners and prejudices introduced by the French among the classes who devote little time to thought, and in the unfortunate example of two or three of the

greatest names in German literature. At present, so far as the latter circumstance has operated, the tide seems to be setting in a contrary direction. Stolberg passed from the Protestant to the Catholic Church. Frederic Schlegel and Tieck have done the same. Werner, the dramatic poet, was born a Protestant, and in his early works has not spared the corrupt opinions and practices of the Catholics: he is now not only a Catholic, but a priest, and the most popular preacher in Vienna.

Upon leaving Prussia Mr. Jacob proceeded to Dresden. His first reflection on entering this city shows but little of that enthusiasm, which is usually awakened by the sight of a place consecrated by the presence of precious monuments of Art: "It is scarcely possible to visit Dresden," says Mr. Jacob, "and inspect the treasures of art and costly edifices which it contains, without being led to reflect on the great amount of unproductive capital which has been here expended, and comparing it with that parsimony that has been applied to the cultivation of the soil, where the same capital, by its reproductive powers, if less splendidly, might have been more beneficially employed." A late very learned lawyer, in one of his works, expresses his regret, that the vast powers of Lord Bacon, so well fitted for improving and adorning legal science, should have been wasted in vain and unprofitable studies: and on the same principle our traveller laments, that what the Saxon sovereigns have laid out in pictures, was not expended on manure and draining. When agriculture and political economy meet in the same brain, what a progeny of monstrous notions springs from the union! Why has the Pantheon been suffered to stand so long, withdrawing so many square yards of soil for so many centuries from the production of something serviceable to man? Alas! that there should have been so many poets and philosophers in England, and that so many waste their hours in reading their works! What a loss of time and labour thus takes place, which, if employed in spade husbandry, would by this time have produced an amount of capital, that might have extinguished the national debt! However, we shall not argue the point with Mr. Jacob as an affair of taste or common sense: let us treat it merely according to the principles of political economy. Now will Mr. Jacob deny, that consumption is as necessary as production, and that if all that is produced were employed in reproduction, the whole course of industry would soon be arrested? Admitting thus much, can he assign a reason why consumption, that takes place in the creation or purchase of works of art, should be more injurious, than if the same sum were laid out in buying fine cloths, when the coarsest stuffs would defend us equally well against the weather, or in supplying our tables with abun-

dance of animal food and delicious wines, when bread and water would suffice for the sustenance of life? Besides, capital, where there is an effective demand for it, increases so rapidly, that the vacuum which is left by the unproductive application of a part of it soon ceases to be perceptible. The very withdrawing of a portion of it from the necessities of trade and agriculture increases the rate of profit, and so accelerates the rate of accumulation, till the defalcation is compensated. It is, therefore, ridiculous to imagine, that the prosperity of Saxony has been impaired by the acquisition of those noble works, which make it the metropolis of art to the north of Europe. Nay, the possession of such treasures, by attracting multitudes of strangers to the country, is a direct source of profit to the inhabitants.

Mr. Jacob's account of the works of art in this city is very scanty and uninteresting. His visit to the gallery supplies him with no more than a list of the pictures that are pointed out by the Inspector to a stranger on his first visit. A gallery which yields to none in Europe; which is superior to any collection at Rome; which has pictures equal to anything that Florence or Bologna can produce, and exhibits an infinitely greater variety than either; such a gallery deserves more notice than travellers usually bestow upon it.

In our author's description of the environs of Dresden many inaccuracies might be exposed. Take, for example, the following paragraph:

"The Castle of Pilnitz, which appears to have been a very extensive pile of building, is now in ruins, having been destroyed by an accidental fire. Some small part has indeed been repaired, and is visited every week by the King and royal family, on the same day, I believe Monday, with a regularity which seems to prevail in all the movements of this venerable monarch." (P. 281.)

The truth is, that the whole court resides at Pilnitz all the summer, and the greater part of autumn. Such things are of little consequence; but if mentioned at all, they should be mentioned correctly.

About fifteen miles from Dresden, towards the frontier of Bohemia, a tract of mountainous country, called the Saxon Swisserland, begins to stretch along the Elbe. Mr. Jacob resolved to visit this region of romantic beauty. He went as far as Schandau on the right bank of the Elbe, then crossed the river, and came back by Pirna, delighted with his excursion.

"A ride of two hours brought us to one of those high pinnacles, which overlook the surrounding plain, called the Bastei. It is the projecting summit of a heap of rocks, of 860 feet in perpendicular height, around whose base, the river Elbe winds with most beautiful

curvatures. In the bottom of the valley, some verdant meadows intervene, between the river and the opposite wall of perpendicular rock; on these plains some neat farm-houses, with compact enclosures, and varieties of fruit-trees present to the view the picture of seclusion, tranquillity, and competence. The rocks on that side the river are less lofty, and the plain they support is extended before the eye, either adorned with cultivated fields or lofty woods, among which are seen other groups of rocks, lifting their heads with all the grandeur which vast and confused masses of naked granite can exhibit. The prospect from the Bastei on its own side the river, is, however, by far the most majestic. Perpendicular masses of rocks with a chasm near 1,000 feet in depth, are opposed to the summit on which we stood; some of them bare, some adorned with trees, whose various tints of every shade, from the pale yellow of the dyeing birch to the deep green of the darkest pines, gave an indescribable charm to the autumnal scenery. Beyond this chain, we remarked that the Elbe took a sudden turn, and passed between a group of still higher rocks; whose tops, though at first they seemed to be a portion of the chain immediately before us, we at length ascertained to be another, and a higher, ridge. Beyond this ridge the masses of Königstein and Lillienstein, reared their bristly pinnacles to the height of several hundred feet above the level of the main body of rocks. On the whole, the views from this point combined the most majestic grandeur with the pleasing contrast of deep, verdant, and quiet valleys, whose habitations were indistinctly seen, and whose grazing cattle were so far below, as to render it difficult to distinguish their kind." (P. 283, 284.)

Unwilling as we are to mortify Mr. Jacob by exciting vain regret, we must tell him, that he returned without having accomplished the object for which he went. He saw only the outskirts of the Saxon Swisserland, not those parts which are celebrated throughout the whole neighbourhood, and which constitute the attraction of the region. With the exception of the Bastei, all the most striking scenery lies beyond Schandau, generally in recesses that are accessible only on foot. To be within reach of some of the most beautiful and singular views in Europe, and yet to turn the back upon them, without deigning to walk a few miles to contemplate them, shows a want of curiosity, not to say taste, which we shall not impute to Mr. Jacob. We suspect that he was misled by "the worthy friend resident in Dresden," to whose guidance he committed himself. This is not the only instance in which Mr. Jacob seemed to be deficient either in curiosity or activity. Near Freyberg, about eighteen miles from Dresden, are the most celebrated mines in Germany. It was here that the mineralogist Werner lived and studied. The whole district is interesting; and the road to it by Tharand is exquisitely beautiful. Mr. Jacob has extracted from a book some short notices of the mines and the

adjacent country. He seems not to have thought it worth while to visit them in person.

No town has been a greater sufferer than Dresden by the late convulsions in Europe. Mr. Jacob, however, errs in ascribing its decay merely to the ravages of actual war. The peace has not been less fatal to it than the armies of Napoleon. A population of nearly eight hundred thousand persons has been taken from Saxony, and annexed to Prussia;* and the nobles and landholders of the ceded districts naturally forsake Dresden, to resort to the capital of their new country. At the same time, the revenue being greatly diminished, the expenses of the court have been necessarily retrenched. These two circumstances are of themselves sufficient to produce great desolation in a town, whose population never exceeded 60,000. The manufacturers, too, are distressed, having no longer so extensive a market as before for their commodities. The morality of the town has been impaired as well as its prosperity. In 1816, the illegitimate children were only one-third less numerous than the legitimate.

Notwithstanding Mr. Jacob's predilection for threshing and sheep-shearing, for the Norfolk husbandry and Merino flocks, he finds leisure to attend to the details of tea-table conversation. Witness his account of the Saxon princess, who is now Queen of Spain. This lady, by the hazardous part which she has taken in the Spanish revolution, is become an interesting personage. Let us hear what Mr. Jacob says of her.

"The young Queen of Spain is said, by those who have been as intimate with her as court etiquette would allow, to possess most unbounded ambition, and to have such a commanding spirit as to have obtained, at her early age, almost the sole power over the Royal Family. When her elder sister was demanded in marriage by an Austrian arch-duke, she declared she would never marry but to a kingly throne. When the ambassador of Spain, the object of whose mission was known, was first introduced to the family, the elder sister, who was attached to the prince she has since married, in order to avoid the honour of Ferdinand's hand, disfigured, by her mode of dress, a person not unpleasing. The younger, Josepha, did not need much persuasion to induce her to accept the proffered crown, nor did she practise any hesitation when the formal proposal was made.

"She is said to be an extremely pious, or what some call a bigotted, Catholic, observing all the injunctions of that church with most scru-

* Mr. Jacob states that Saxony has been deprived of her salt-mines, and of her most fertile agricultural district; but he has overlooked what is of equal importance,—that she has lost that forest-country on which a great part of the kingdom, more especially the capital, depended for a supply of wood. A scarcity of that necessary article is apprehended.

pulous exactness. She is distinguished by an undeviating sincerity in all her expressions, by the most rigid adherence to truth, and the punctual observation of all her engagements. She had studied the Spanish language, and at an early period of her engagement with Ferdinand, had begun to correspond with him. It was suggested that her letters had better be corrected by some person who was an adept in that tongue; but she repelled the suggestion with great scorn, declaring that it would be practising a deception on the King, which she would never use.

"After the formal marriage, she appeared much flattered by the Spanish minister addressing her on his knee; though it is said, when he first placed himself in that posture before her, she was alarmed by the apprehension that he was about to communicate some disastrous intelligence from Spain.

"The picture of Ferdinand superbly set with diamonds, was presented to her, with which she was much pleased, as he *was* certainly a fine looking man. It was afterwards known, and by some person communicated to her, that the picture was painted for and presented to his first wife; that after her death the same present was sent to Brasil for his late Queen; and now for the third time, presented to the Saxon Princess as the resemblance of one, who must have passed a longer period than she has lived, since it was painted for him. Whatever chagrin the discovery might have occasioned, the prospect of a crown seemed to have healed the wound and allayed the feeling.

"The conditions to which this young Princess was called to submit, in conformity to the etiquette of the Spanish court, were such as would have been deemed harsh by most persons, but are said to have been easily acquiesced in when they were appendages to a throne; and were not objected to, because they were known before the formal proposals were made. The principal conditions are, that she is to visit a theatre but twice in a year, and then accompanied by the King;—that if she wishes to ride out, or to walk even in the garden, she must give twelve hours' notice in writing of her intentions; and that no attendants from her own country must accompany her to Madrid, but must leave her at the first town after her passing the Spanish frontiers. This last condition has been literally complied with, and her Saxon attendants have all returned to Dresden." (P. 291—293.)

Without accompanying our author in his journey homewards along the great central road of Germany, we shall only remark that, in this part of his tour, as in others, he is too often deficient in accuracy. For instance, at Leipzig, talking of Poniatowsky, he says, "A small monument to this unfortunate officer is erected in the meadow, near to the spot where he met his fate." The monument is not in a meadow, but in a magnificent garden. As he approaches Lützen, he remarks, "that the battle of Lützen, where Gustavus Adolphus met his death, and which his chancellor Oxenstiern gained, was fought on the left hand side of the road." Oxenstiern was not

at Lützen: at the time of the battle he was gone to hold an assembly of the upper circles of Germany, and he was at Hanau when the news of the king's death reached him.* Our author mentions the flourishing trade of Naumburg, but he forgets the destruction of its fair. The fair was formerly one of great resort. As the merchants, since the transference of the town to Prussia, are prevented by the fiscal regulations from bringing their commodities thither, it is now annihilated.

His visit to Jena leads him to speak at some length of the German universities. What he says on this subject deserves perusal, though his views are not always quite accurate. He talks, for instance, of the distribution of the students into mock orders of knighthood, which are animated with so much party zeal, that those who enter into one of them are frequently compelled, if they wish to remain on good terms with their comrades, to challenge the members of another. The true account of the case is very simple. At every German university students were to be found from many different provinces. The natives of the same province naturally associated together; Hanoverian with Hanoverian, Mecklenburgher with Mecklenburgher, Prussian with Prussian, Saxon with Saxon. This natural union was occasionally confirmed by particular times and forms of meeting. Latterly, the idea of a national union of all Germany has been very popular. As these provincial distinctions at the universities were adverse to the proposed union, associations were formed in opposition to them; and sometimes violent quarrels have been the consequence. As to the practice of duelling among the students, Mr. Jacob would have found upon inquiry, that these combats are not only far from being dangerous, but that they are really fit objects of laughter. The rapier is the weapon used. The head is bandaged so as to protect the temporal arteries: a great part of the body is also defended by bandages: the second stands behind, and, with his rapier extended on the right of his friend, wards off all cuts that might take effect in that direction. The left arm is drawn back; so that it is only in the left shoulder and the face, that a wound can be received. Where duels are fought in this manner, it is not wonderful that they should be numerous. They are merely athletic sports—their frequency is in an inverse proportion to their danger.

At Frankfort Mr. Jacob plunges deep into political economy. His speculations have the merit of being intelligible—a qua-

* See the beginning of the fourth book of Schiller's History of the Thirty Years' War.

lity which is every day becoming rarer in such disquisitions.—We are not aware that they have any other claim to attention. He crossed the Rhine at Mentz, and proceeded towards France. His description of the country between the Rhine and the present French frontier is most melancholy.

" The whole distance from Mentz is between ninety and one hundred miles. In that space, I saw nothing that looked like the mansion of a gentleman that was not in ruins and without inhabitants. The villages are numerous and large, the barns adjoining to each house in them, small, and with scarcely any stables or sheds for cattle. The cows are very few, and yield all the butter that the district consumes, though less than it wants. Flax is grown, spun, and wove by every family, but none is sent to other parts of the country. I did not see fifty sheep in all my journey, though much of the land is fit for them, and for nothing else; and wherever I inquired, I was told there were no flocks. The furniture of the peasants' houses was uniformly wretched, and their dress far, very far, worse than I had seen in any part of Germany beyond the Rhine.

" I had not seen this country before it fell under the dominion of France, and therefore can only judge of its condition from the reports, perhaps partial ones, of either writers or natives; but of this I am confident, that such good natural soil could never have been in a much worse state, nor much less productive than it is at present. I except from this observation the fruit trees, most of which, however, especially the walnuts, must have been planted long before the French possessed it.

" The whole feudal tenures kept up a connexion betwixt the lord and his tenants; the dues paid to him were small, and rather troublesome and vexatious than onerous, but the influence and example of a resident gentry must have been of great advantage; and the military service was rather a nominal than a real evil, and a very trifling one, when compared with the conscription that France enforced. The military claims of their ancient lords, founded on the tenures by which the peasants held the lands, were never very rigidly enforced; but under the French system, their conscription was strictly and equally extended over the whole population between certain defined ages. Under the governments that have succeeded to that of France, the demand for personal service is various. Under Prussia it is universal, but the period is limited; and to those in such circumstances as to afford the purchase of their equipments, one year suffices. Under the government of Hesse Darmstadt, the conscription is not universal; but it is far from being impartial. The finest and best made young men are selected and compelled to serve. Under the government of Bavaria it is equal, but not extensive; and the administration is very mild in its demands of personal service.

" With the introduction of the French system into the country, the nobility and gentry, deprived of that from which they derived the greater part of their incomes, naturally withdrew, and the spirit of improvement declined. With the removal of the gentry, the capital

also fled, and in times of abundance there were none to purchase the surplus, and keep it till a scarcity occurred. The peasantry, now become proprietors, could find neither money nor credit to improve their lands; and thus its husbandry, if it has not retrograded, has remained stationary.

"When the French system of taxation, including the heavy *foncière*, was imposed in the place of the feudal dues and the tithes, a value was put on every portion of land, and a per centage demanded upon that valuation. I believe this contribution was at first beyond, and certainly it was recently very far beyond, the whole amount of what was paid, or would have been paid, as a composition for the rent, feudal services, and tithes, which were thus nominally abolished, but really inflicted under another name, and to a more burdensome extent. Under the French system, the clergy were at first either removed, or became dependant on the peasantry; afterwards they were allowed one thousand francs a year, and though their fees rose, they have gradually been replaced, as they have died, by men of a lower caste.

"Thus the imposts were not lessened, nor the requisitions for their services diminished, but the people were tricked by the words liberty and equality, out of a greater portion of their happiness and comforts than their ancient paternal governments had ever required them to sacrifice; and they were deprived of the benefits which are derived in every country from the examples of a resident gentry, and a body of respectable clergy. In no part of Germany did the pictures of wretchedness present themselves to my observation, either so frequently or so strikingly, as between the Rhine and the present frontiers of France; and the reflections I have recorded, are the natural expression of the feelings which were excited in my mind, from step to step through the country. Those reflections were strengthened by the inquiries I made at each town for the booksellers' shops. In every other place, to the eastward of the Rhine, I uniformly found a shop or shops, with a greater or less quantity of books for sale. Except at Mentz, where there are very few, I did not find a single bookseller of any kind in any of the towns. At Saarbrück, indeed, one was pointed out to me, which I visited, but except almanacks, the whole stock in the shop was of less value than I carried in a small portmanteau. The same may have been formerly the case, but that I could not ascertain; and I should rather judge, that when the gentry were driven from the country, the taste for reading, and the desire to acquire knowledge, speedily followed them." (P. 420—423.)

This picture is unfortunately too true:—it is only perhaps a little too highly coloured. At *Kayserlautern* a newspaper is published; and from the poetry it contains, and the articles on belles-lettres and morals, we should conclude that there was some taste for books in that neighbourhood.

On France, our traveller says little:—indeed he passed through it so hastily, that there was no possibility of his gaining any information.

We have said enough to intimate to our readers, that this work

does not contain much interesting matter in proportion to its size. It may be read with pleasure by those who have visited the countries described in it, as it will serve to recall ideas which are beginning to fade; but to those who have never been in Germany it will communicate very imperfect and vague notions. Had Mr. Jacob allowed more time to his journey in the first instance, and more time to the task of composition afterwards, he would have made a much better book. He often displays considerable shrewdness; he is not backward at asking questions; and he is never peevish on account of little inconveniencies. In short, his book leaves upon us the impression, that he is an agreeable travelling companion. We must not omit to add, that he is not infected with the leprosy of fine writing. His style, however, though it escapes one fault, runs into others. Its general structure is heavy and disjointed: in its details it is incorrect. Thus he uses granite and porphyry as synonymous terms. He talks of chandeliers *depending from the roof*, and of post-horses with *knees deranged*, that is, broken-kneed. He informs us that the gloominess of Amsterdam arises from the height of the houses, and "*the short distance from one side of the street to the other;*" meaning thereby no more than what is called, in common English, narrowness of the streets. He uses the pronouns so vaguely, that it is only from the general meaning of the passage, not from the grammar of the sentence, that we can discover what they refer to. What he does say is often very different from what he intends to say. Thus, page 102, "The surplus of the productions of the soil in the last years so little exceeds the consumption, that," &c. For *surplus* substitute *amount*, and you will have the true sense. So at page 68: "The conquest, or ruin of England, to which the French were taught to look at as a certain event; and on the accomplishment of which the commerce and colonies of Holland, as well as France, were to be restored, obtained no credit *in the latter* country;" he means *in the former*, namely, Holland. We have said, that Mr. Jacob is generally a plain writer: sometimes, however, ambition tempts him into metaphor. For example: "There is undoubtedly a deficiency of capital in the countries between Germany and Russia. But capital, like water, if not as speedily, will, at least, as invariably, flow to the place where it is most productive." The discovery that water flows to the place where it is most productive, is quite novel in hydrostatics. As connected with the subject of style, we may add, that the spelling of the few German words which occur is extremely inaccurate; whether by the fault of the printer, or of the writer, we cannot say: thus we have *güte* instead of *gute*, *unterthaner* instead of *unterthanen*.

The perusal of Mr. Jacob's book suggests some reflections, which are not without their application to our own circumstances. We complain of the depression of agriculture and the stagnation of commerce, but it appears that there is no part of Europe which is not suffering under similar evils. We ascribe our distress wholly to taxation; yet our taxes have been diminished by a fourth below their war amount, while peace has only added to the burdens of most of our neighbours. Man must never judge of his situation absolutely; he can estimate his condition only by comparing it with that of others; and when we have recourse to this method of decision, we have no small cause to be satisfied; for we are still the most prosperous people in Europe.

Our labouring classes murmur; yet let them look to the circumstances of the lower orders on the Continent. A Prussian soldier has eighteen ounces of black bread and three pence in money per day. So inadequate is the nourishment he receives, that in one regiment 20 men have often fainted on parade from extreme inanition: * yet a soldier is generally better fed than a peasant. Throughout the whole north of Germany coarse rye bread, with potatoes, is the common food of the inhabitants, not of the hired labourers merely, but of the generality of the farmers too. A labouring man can earn little beyond his mere food. Besides his own coarse and scanty fare, he does not gain more than threepence per day in winter, and fourpence in summer; and out of this pittance he must provide clothing for himself, and food, apparel, and lodging for those whom nature has made dependent on him. His situation in France is little, if at all, better. Of all the provinces of that kingdom, Normandy presents to the eye the most evident appearances of comfort and improvement; yet a portion of bread, with a couple of roasted apples, and perhaps a glass of weak cyder, is the greatest luxury of which a Norman peasant partakes. We speak not of how he fares in seasons of extraordinary distress, but of the habitual tenor of his life. If, from the article of food, we proceed to consider lodging, clothing, furniture, and the other comforts of existence, no comparison can be instituted between the advantages of the English labourer and those of the common people in any part of the Continent. Yet no part of the Continent exceeds us in discontent.

It is consolatory to observe, that public affairs are everywhere better administered than in former times. Nowhere do we meet with instances of direct oppression; attention is everywhere paid to economy, and the means of instruction are every-

* This fact we give on the authority of a British officer in the Prussian service.

where provided for the people. It is scarcely possible to enter a town in Germany, where numerous gratuitous institutions for education do not exist. All this is an indubitable proof, that governments are in a course of gradual improvement. But gradual improvement comes too slowly for human impatience; and, accordingly, in every part of Europe, we find a faction loud in their clamours against the institutions of their country. The German reformers, it must be confessed, have the advantage of their English brethren in education, respectability, and perhaps honesty of intention; in point of wisdom they are both alike. Their only aim is to destroy; they have no distinct conception of the new fabric which they are to erect. They have only the vague principle, that more of republican forms and institutions must be introduced into government. They who will take the trouble to peruse Mr. Jacob's book, will see, that in Germany such plans must terminate in confirming and extending the powers of the aristocracy. The great requisite to improvement is, to lessen the dependance of the cultivators of the soil on the proprietors, and this object is now calmly but steadily pursued. By any considerable change in the government, it will be rendered more difficult of attainment; because the nobles will gain whatever the crown loses, unless the innovators, not satisfied with altering the political constitution, tear the whole frame of society to pieces, violate every right of property, and re-distribute the population into such classes as they, in the profoundness of their wisdom, shall think fit. What would be the ultimate result of so tremendous a change, no one can foretel; the first part of the way lies through bloodshed, misery, and crime; the termination is hid in darkness. We throw out these remarks, chiefly because the plans of the German reformers are sometimes spoken of, in too favourable terms, by men who would be most unwilling to permit, that, in their own country, wild and visionary theory should lay its hands on the ark of the constitution of their forefathers.

ART. IX.—*The Life of William Lord Russell, with some Account of the Times in which he lived.* By Lord John Russell. Second Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1820.

THE reign of Charles the Second is one of the most curious and interesting periods of British, we might almost say of general, history. Never, perhaps, was there a time in which a good man, forced by his station to take a part in public mea-

sures, would find it more difficult to know how to act. As a loyal subject, he would feel inclined to side with the king, yet to do so was not only to encourage a profligate and venal government, but to strengthen the hands of tyranny, and to pave the way for the return of Popery. To throw his weight into the popular scale, was to incur the risk of another scene of bloodshed and confusion similar to that from which the nation had but just emerged. The parliament was so split into factions, that it was difficult to discover from that quarter what was the general wish and pulse of the people, except that it was violently in opposition to every measure of the court. The political elements were something in the state in which geologists represent certain strata of the earth, where the various particles held in solution, not having had time to crystallize by gradual subsidence, according to their regular attractions and specific gravities, have formed a confused and heterogeneous mass, requiring to be dissolved once more, and to polarize in regular symmetry by a more gradual process. Neither the Rebellion nor the Restoration had reduced these elements to their legitimate positions, or marshalled them in due order: the former had thrown every thing into the scale of democracy. It was enough for the people, groaning under oppression, to be freed from the prospect of Popery and arbitrary power; they asked for no curb to evils of an opposite kind. The virulence of the distemper which ensued soon led them to the contrary extreme; they felt the necessity of a regular government, and, in consequence, recalled the legitimate dynasty, but without those stipulations which were necessary to prevent the introduction of the ancient abuses. A third process, therefore, was necessary to strike the balance, and to reduce the constitution to that happy state of adjustment under which it at present exists. That process took place at the revolution of 1688, which finally settled the contending claims of the monarchical and democratical parts of our constitution, and gave us the benefits without the evils of either extreme.

In speaking of times like these, a narrator is almost unavoidably biassed by his political predilections, and among the contending parties it is not always easy to discover the real complexion of events. The noble author of the Life of Lord William Russell,* whose narrative now lies before us, is himself well known under the denomination of a decided Whig; and his party predilections, as well as his descent from the illustrious subject of his narrative, naturally give somewhat of a

* The work before us spells the name *Russell*; Hume and many other writers spell it *Russel*; we shall follow the family orthography.

bias to his pages. We have no intention of saying, because we do not think, that his Lordship has misrepresented facts; but many of his arguments and conclusions are written with a party spirit,—a spirit from which an avowed systematic oppositionist cannot be expected to be free. Indeed, Lord John Russell expressly justifies it; for, in speaking of his patriotic ancestor's joining the opposition in parliament, he remarks,

"From this time we may date the origin of the party to which Lord Russell henceforward belonged. There are persons who think the name of Party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine, for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell's conduct must appear indefensible.

"But to all those who allow that party may sometimes be useful, and opposition often even necessary, I may safely appeal for the justification of his conduct. To overthrow a scheme so formed as that of Charles and James, it was not sufficient to give honest, but unconnected votes in the House of Commons. It was necessary to oppose public discussion to secret intrigue, and persevering union to interested combination: it was necessary to overlook the indiscreet violence of partisans, to obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung: it was necessary to sink every little difference in the great cause of the Protestant religion, and our ancient freedom: in fine, it was the duty of the lovers of their country to counteract system by system, and numbers by numbers." (Vol. i. p. 63, 64.)

From much of this specious reasoning we dissent; and we should not scruple to affirm, that the case of Lord William Russell himself furnishes a strong argument against the whole system. For what brought that eminent man to the scaffold? Certainly (or at least we are willing to believe,) not any treasonable practices of his own: he persisted in averring to the last, and we believe truly, that he wished only for legal and parliamentary measures. Hume himself, who was no great friend to the memory of Lord Russell, allows that he intended only the redress of grievances, and the legal exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. But by "overlooking the indiscreet violence of partizans," with a view to "obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung," he suffered himself to be connected with men who were ripe for, and who actually plotted, insurrection and rebellion. The evidence on his trial showed unequivocally that he was present at a meeting where conversation of the most treasonable nature took place, and which it

does not appear that he discountenanced, and certainly did not disclose. Hume considers it as clearly proved, that Lord Russell had himself agreed to an insurrection, and that the surprisal of the king's guards had been deliberated upon, though not the assassination of the monarch. Allowing that Hume goes too far in this conclusion, and that the witnesses who deposed to these facts were perjured, it is still very certain that Lord Russell suffered himself to be connected with men, whose designs he must have known to be illegal and insurrectionary, and was therefore guilty of misprision and virtual encouragement, if not of personal concurrence. He confesses, indeed, in his dying declaration, that "he could not confess matter of fact too plainly without being brought within the guilt of misprision."

We suspect that our author in the above apology for party, has in his eye a more modern reference than the age of Charles II., and that the panegyrist of party in the seventeenth century is not wholly insensible to the aspect which his argument may have upon the affairs of the nineteenth. His Lordship may have founded his opinions upon this subject upon the well-known doctrines of the late Mr. Fox, that eminently party man, whose historical work his Lordship describes as containing "more sound constitutional (*scilicet* Whig) opinions than any other history with which he is acquainted." One conspicuous principle of that work, as well as of Mr. Fox's general proceedings and principles, is that *party* is to effect every thing in politics. "How weak and pernicious the maxim," exclaims Mr. Fox, in summing up the character of Charles the Second, "that measures not men are to be attended to." The passage which we have quoted from Lord John Russell is, in fact, a plea for this principle. We allow that we must often judge of the object of a scheme by the character of the man who proposes it rather than by the particular measure itself, because the one assists to explain the intention of the other. And it is true, likewise, that honest men, who think generally alike, may lawfully combine for effecting their object, and sink minor differences for the sake of internal union. But party spirit goes much farther than this; its leading maxim is to panegyrize indiscriminately all that is done by one side, and to vilify as indiscriminately all that is done by the other. It acts upon the broad principle that the end sanctifies the means; so that if that end be, for example, the dismissal of a particular administration, it is lawful and moral to inveigh against and misrepresent measures which even the calumniators themselves believe, in their conscience, to have been well planned and beneficial, and to take advantage of occurrences over which they well

know the opposite party had no control. The whole system, therefore, is fundamentally dishonest and base; and must, for the most part, eventually prove as futile as it is disingenuous, because the opposite party will adopt the same practice, and thus the action and re-action will counterbalance each other. Systematic opposition on the one side naturally leads to systematic corruption and venality on the other; while in both the high tone of manly and ingenuous principle is lowered, and the moral sense placed under the control of political expediency. The extent to which this takes place in our own day may be seen in every passing event. It is accurately known beforehand how a thorough partizan will "feel it his duty" to act and speak on any given occasion; and if one honest exception to his usual system should occur from overpowering evidence which he cannot decently withstand, he is at once represented as an inconsistent character, and has violated his faith to his party! Look at the last session of parliament for examples!

We might refer to a recent action of our author himself as an argument against that necessity for party spirit for which he so warmly contends. A letter has just appeared in the public papers, addressed by Lord John Russell to a senator, whom he considers as holding the political balance in his hand, upon a point which has so greatly agitated and afflicted the country. We might therefore have supposed that that senator was the avowed leader of a party, and that he owed his influence not to giving "an honest and unconnected vote," but to "overlooking the indiscreet violence of partizans," and regulating his conduct not by what he knew to be right, but by what he fancied to be agreeable to the views of a party. But unhappily for his Lordship's argument, Mr. Wilberforce is allowedly no party man, and zealous advocates on both sides have not scrupled to say of him, and such as him, that "he is a man on whose vote *we can place no dependence;* for when we are *right* we have his suffrage, but *then* we could do without it; and when we are wrong he votes with the adverse party."

One evil resulting from party spirit in public men is, that the world are too apt to suspect that all are alike; while the radicals, it is well known, exclaim as loudly against the whigs as the tories, and more loudly, perhaps, in proportion as they approach nearer to themselves. Radicalism is, in fact, little more than whiggism run to seed. In saying this we do not mean to speak invidiously; but only to allude to the *broad principles* on which each system is founded. We equally admit of toryism that it may be sublimated into slavery. In fact, abstract principles on either side may be carried out into inferences of the most injurious nature. The arguments of the advocate for constitu-

tional obedience may be stretched to authorize tyranny and despotism; while the position that it is lawful in some cases to resist, is as susceptible of a radical as a whig commentary, and as much led the way to the execrated murder of Charles I. as to the eulogized expulsion of his son. A virtuous man and sincere Christian will usually be able to decide what is his own duty in a particular juncture, without the aid of such abstract propositions as necessarily assert either too little or too much.

In employing the terms whig and tory, which naturally suggest themselves in adverting to the reign of Charles II. when they were first adopted, it is impossible not to see that they mean very different things in different speakers. Our noble author might perhaps describe himself as a genuine whig of 1688, and as coinciding nearly in his political principles with his venerated ancestor. Those principles carried a little further formed the character of Algernon Sydney; and when infused in a much grosser form into the populace at large without their proper counterpoise, become little short of an insurrectionary spirit, and are quite incompatible with civil tranquillity; because, in admitting the occasional necessity and duty of revolutionary efforts, they furnish a convenient handle to every factious demagogue to break in upon the established government of his country, by making every case a case of necessity. Whiggism, in the eyes of Mr. Fox, included a galaxy of all the virtues. He speaks, for example, in his historical work, of the Duke of Monmouth, by his acquaintance with the whig leaders, becoming "enamoured of those principles of *justice, benevolence*, and *equality* which form the true creed of the party." This is one way of getting over the difficulty, by begging the question; though a tory might probably be apt to retort by adducing not a few cases in which *justice* and *benevolence* were not remarkably conspicuous in certain whig transactions.

Our author's description of whiggism is more specific than that which we have quoted from Mr. Fox, and may not be unfair as applied to such men as Lord Russell; but it is for the effects of the system upon the ignorant multitude that we are chiefly alarmed. It is capable of being twisted by an easy process to the revolutionary doctrine of "physical force." The celebrated statesman whose panegyric on whiggism we have just quoted gave a far more correct illustration of its effects, when he spoke of submission to a law which he disapproved, being a matter of *prudence rather than of morality*. This is genuine whiggism. All government is considered, under this system, to be merely an affair of expediency, and is to be obeyed as far as is compatible with each man's ideas of his own rights, subject to the limitation of "prudence." If he

rebel and suffer for it, he is a martyr. The affections are out of the question; obedience is the dictate of the head and not of the heart; and like all other actions which result from philosophical deliberations, unconnected with the generous feelings of our nature, is liable to be speedily warped. We do not mean to say a downright whig cannot be loyal; but he is loyal with so many restrictions that the virtue becomes of doubtful efficacy when it is most wanted. He is loyal while loyalty happens to be the fashion, but the least tide of popular feeling is apt to bear away his loyalty down the stream of party, till he finds himself almost unconsciously floating on the turbulent billows of disaffection or rebellion. Such, we are sorry to say, is too much the character of a great deal that is called loyalty in the present age. It is a sickly exotic, which cannot stand the slightest breeze; one blast of the popular breath destroys it. There is no heart, no vitality in this sort of political virtue; it puts the first estate of the realm, like a convicted culprit, under a bond for good behaviour, of which itself is to be the judge, and the first supposed breach is to be followed with "a word and a blow;" and, if expedient, the blow may come first. We do not hesitate to say that this coy, ticklish sort of submission is not a Christian's obedience to "the powers that be;" for though our holy religion is far from inculcating anything like slavish maxims, or upholding a system like that of the Stuarts and some of the Tudors, it *does* enjoin a hearty, conscientious, and *religious* obedience to established authorities, not only from expediency but from duty; from "morality" as well as from "prudence." We would not wish to call back the tyranny of the house of Stuart; but we should be unfeignedly glad to see a larger sprinkling of the old cavalier spirit; that generous impulse which bound the servant to the master, the tenant to his lord, and the subject to the sovereign, with far more than modern ties. Loyalty, in those days, was often cherished where there was very little inducement to be loyal, and where disaffection itself would have had ample excuse; it was in fact an unsuspecting hereditary virtue; men were loyal from a noble propensity of the heart derived to them from their ancestors; and they never thought of changing their opinions on this subject till absolutely forced to do so by the absurd and tyrannical proceedings of the court. But now-a-days, persons in general do not think of being loyal unless they can give half a score cogent arguments for being so. Instead of loyalty being the rule and disloyalty the rare exception, the contrary is too often the case: and for one ill-understood public measure, many a man assuming to be loyal throws away his colours and enlists in the ranks of disaffection.—We shall drop this subject for the

present, as we may have occasion to revert to it before we conclude. In the mean time we return to the interesting volumes before us.

It will not be expected that we should proceed at length through the narrative of the life and (to all but himself) premature death of the eminent man whose memoir claims our attention. A few occasional sketches and incidental remarks are all that we can profess to offer.

Lord William Russell, the third son of William, Earl of Bedford, was born September 29th, 1639. Of his education little is known; two letters written by him during his travels, have been preserved and are published in the narrative before us, but are not in any way remarkable. Indeed, as our author justly observes in his preface, Lord William Russell was not distinguished by extraordinary talents; he never affected fame as a writer or an orator, and was in no one instance the original proposer of any great measure; but was content with qualities of a much higher, though less ambitious order; he was simple and devout; he was inflexibly upright in what he conceived to be his duty, and could neither be courted by the smiles, nor awed by the frowns of his own or any other party. The times upon which he was cast rendered him conspicuous as a popular leader, otherwise he would probably have passed through life an upright, gentle, unostentatious and domestic man. But the exemplary constancy, piety, and generosity which he exhibited both at the tribunal and on the scaffold; and perhaps, in no slight degree, the heroism, the conjugal tenderness, and the innumerable other virtues of that sainted woman, who aided him at his trial—supported him in the prospect of death—and, to the end of a long life, cherished in her agonized bosom the bitter remembrance of his worth and his loss, have enshrined him in the affections of posterity, with a more enthusiastic feeling than usually attends the memory of a patriot or a hero. An almost romantic love of his country, a perfect candour and disinterestedness, and a dauntless courage, were but a part of his eminent qualities. To many of the sterner he added all the amiable and domestic virtues; he was as constant and faithful in his conjugal and social as in his public relations; and possessed, in no ordinary degree, the power of securing the love of his friends and the esteem of his enemies. His honesty of intention throughout his political conduct is unimpeachable, and if he erred in *the extent* to which he carried his doctrine of resistance to a corrupt government,—we mean so far as to suppose it lawful to *bear arms* against the sovereign authority—we should take into the account the wretched times in which he lived. Both the sons of Charles the First were arbitrary upon

principle; the fate of their father, far from moderating their views, seems only to have exasperated them against the principles which were the instruments of his downfall; the constitutional good-nature of the elder did not prevent his being severe and tyrannical in his public capacity, as was proved in the fate of Russell himself; while the younger, both while Duke of York and afterwards on the throne, evidenced all the family failings, without any of the compensating qualities which often made his dissipated and licentious brother beloved where he was least esteemed. Charles, we apprehend to have been in reality little better than a Deist; his addiction to popery itself was not of a really religious kind; but the most faithful adherents of the Stuarts had been Papists; popery was also an excellent religion for inculcating arbitrary principles; and the most furious zealots against it had been the most determined enemies to the person and government of his father. James was a bigot upon principle, and so blind in his bigotry as not to see that in a free protestant country it was impossible his throne could stand on papal supporters. It should not be forgotten also, that their mother was a Papist; their father, we may conclude, was too busily employed in his own unfortunate affairs to attend much to the religious instruction of his sons in their youth; and it was not likely they would amend either their religion or their politics during their visits to popish and almost despotic courts, or even with the Dutch, whose religion and government they so greatly detested. Doubtless, also, the fanaticism of Scotland conduced in no slight degree to disgust both brothers, especially Charles, with protestantism, which they saw exhibited under so unfavourable a shape, and, in the end, to drive Charles to take shelter in infidelity, and James in papal superstition. There is, however, no doubt that Charles died a Roman Catholic. The particulars are given at length in Mr. Fox's work, with a curious letter from Barillon on the subject.

But we must return to our author, who describes the character of Charles as follows:—

"Charles II., in the station of a private gentleman, would have been universally liked. Few men had such captivating manners, and no man ever united wit and good-nature in society to a greater degree. He had a natural kindness of temper which influenced his moral conduct, and prevented his becoming the oppressor of his queen, when he could not be constant to her; nor was his inclination for women gratified with so much contempt of virtue as of decency." (Vol. i. p. 39.)

"But the cares and duties of a throne were fitted to expose the defects of Charles in the most glaring light. It was evident, that he was indolent, mean, false, unprincipled, and selfish. The most important affairs could not make him active; the most solemn engagements,

true; the most shameful proposals could not rouse his pride, nor the affection of a great people induce him to sacrifice the least and lowest of his pleasures." (Vol. i. p. 40.)

Amidst his catalogue of vices might be specifically mentioned *hypocrisy*, which was one of Charles's worst crimes. There is a story somewhere extant (if we recollect rightly, in Neal's History of the Puritans,) which states, that when the presbyterian deputation waited upon the king at Breda, to implore toleration in secondary matters, he retired to an adjoining room, where he could be distinctly heard thanking God aloud that he was a covenanted king. The artifice succeeded, for Case, one of the deputation, lifted up his eyes and hands to return thanks to heaven that they had now a praying monarch. The whole course of Charles's conduct towards his parliament was of the same mendacious kind; and, in consequence, nothing could be more accurate than the common remark that he was a king "whose word no man relied on." He did not, it is true, often employ the species of hypocrisy mentioned in the above story; and which was the master weapon of Cromwell; for he had as little of the exterior form as of the stern principles and self-denying virtues of puritanism. But in hypocrisy of another sort he was an adept; and no man knew better how to raise money under false pretences. On one occasion, when his parliament had a right to expect that he had made some anti-gallican alliances in order to save Flanders, he sent down to ask for money, and pledged his royal word that they should not repent of their confidence in his intentions, while at that very moment he was busy in negociating for a larger sum with the French minister in the opposite interest; and the higher the passions of the parliament arose for war, the greater price he demanded of Lewis for neutrality. Our author, alluding to this fact, justly describes it in the language of Mr. Hume, as "one of the most dishonorable and scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne."—How hypocritically he disguised his religious persuasion needs not be mentioned.

We have alluded to these particulars in the characters of Charles and his brother because they furnish the best apology for some of the measures of the illustrious patriots of that day, which might otherwise appear exceptionable; while they exempt them from being pleaded as a precedent in more regular times and under our present settled constitution. And here we think our whig orators and writers misplace one of their most popular arguments; they talk familiarly of the conduct of such men as Lord William Russell, without taking into the account the wide differences between the two periods. We do not *now* need persons to bleed in defence of the laws, it is enough if they will obey them; we do not require politi-

cal architects to form a new constitution; it is sufficient if they will not endanger that which already exists, and are not "the architects of ruin." It may not be uninteresting to point out two or three features of political contrast between the times of Charles the Second and our own, with a view to shew how very unfair and irrelevant is the sort of language we often hear, inviting men to imitate the Hampdens, and Sydneys, and Russells of former days—to stand up for their rights—and to vow on the altar of liberty never to submit to civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. In those days all this really meant something; there were grievances to be redressed and rights to be restored: in our own age it would be a much better lesson to teach men how to enjoy their actual privileges, and not to run the risk of losing them by encouraging popular delusions, and disturbing the regular flow of law and legislation.

With regard, then, in the first place, to the liberty of the press, what is the statement of our noble author himself?

"The press, the last refuge of the worshippers of freedom, had become a fortress of her enemies. The writings of the Whigs were suppressed, and calumnies against them published, in violation and in contempt of the laws." (Vol. ii. p. 176.)

"In several cases of persons accused of selling libellous pamphlets, the chief justice had refused sufficient bail, and had told a woman, of the name of Jane Curtis, who had sold a libel against himself, that she should expect no more mercy than a wolf that came to devour them. Berry, a stationer, being accused of selling 'Observations on Wakeman's Trial,' was refused bail, and obliged to attend five times before he could be discharged, though no information was exhibited against him." (Vol. i. p. 243.)

"The Whig newspapers, which were very active in bringing to light acts of oppression and injustice, were suppressed, and the writers of them imprisoned. Great pains were taken, on the other hand, to direct the public mind into the road of abject servility. Roger L'Estrange set up a paper, called the Observator, which served as a vehicle for the most outrageous libels on the principles and persons of the Opposition. Amongst other passages of a similar kind, he said that a citizen's skull was but a thing to try the temper of a soldier's sword upon." (Vol. ii. p. 10, 11.)

Let the reader contrast this state of things with the horribly licentious character of our own press, and especially some of our monthly, diurnal, and above all (would that the impiety as well as the political nuisance were speedily stopped!) our *Sunday* publications. Some of the best informed statesmen of the age do not scruple to ascribe our chief disorders to the periodical press; intelligence is circulated so rapidly that in the course of a few hours a fact, distorted in the narration and accompanied with an unfair and inflammatory comment, is the common gossip of every village of the kingdom, and the minds of the ig-

norant are heated and their principles sapped by party figments, the impression of which is never wholly erased, even if the disingenuous artifice should be at length discovered. In the mean time the poison spreads, and the people are taught to think themselves abused and oppressed, and to throw a load of indiscriminate obloquy upon all who do not enter into the designs of the factious oracles to which they are instructed to refer.

Take another feature of contrast between the two periods, namely, in the conduct of our crowned heads towards foreign princes. The whole reign of Charles II. is one plot against his country. He was a hireling in the pay of Lewis of France, and there was no work which he would not do for adequate wages. Though he knew that the two things which his people most hated were France and popery; he chose these for the idols of his affection, and cared not what British interest he sacrificed at the shrine of his adoration. He was even content to enjoy a degrading pension from Lewis, in order that he might be independent of his parliament. Let the reader weigh the following secret article from one of Charles's treaties with the French king as given by our author:

"Article 2. The King of Great Britain is convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to make his declaration of it, and to reconcile himself with the church of Rome, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom shall be sufficiently established to permit him. He has every reason to hope, and to be persuaded from the affections and from the fidelity of his subjects, that none of them, even of those on whom God shall not have yet so abundantly shed his grace as to dispose them by this august example to be converted, will ever fail in the inviolable obedience due from all people to their sovereigns, even of a different religion. Nevertheless, as there appear sometimes turbulent and restless spirits, who endeavour to disturb the public tranquillity chiefly when they can conceal their evil designs under the plausible pretext of religion, His Britannic Majesty, who has nothing more at heart (after the respose of his conscience) than to establish that which the mildness of his government has procured to his subjects, believes that the best means of preventing it from being disturbed is to be assured, in case of its being required, of the assistance of His Most Christian Majesty, who being willing, on this occasion, to give the King of Great Britain indisputable proofs of the sincerity of his friendship, and to contribute to the full success of a design so glorious, so useful to His Majesty, and even to the whole Catholic religion, has promised and promises to give, for this purpose, to the said King of Great Britain, the sum of two millions of livres Tournois, of which half shall be paid three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, &c. and the other half three months after. And further, the said Most Christian King binds himself to assist His Britannic Majesty with troops to the number of six thousand, if necessary, and even to raise and maintain them

at his own cost and expense as long as the said King of Great Britain shall judge them to be necessary to him for the execution of his design. And the said troops shall be transported by the ships of the King of Great Britain to such places and ports as he shall judge most fit for the good of his service; and from the day of their embarkation shall be paid as aforesaid by His Most Christian Majesty, and shall obey the orders of the King of Great Britain. The time of the said declaration of Catholicism is left entirely to the choice of the said King of Great Britain." (Vol. i. p. 51, 52.)

Well might such men as Lord Russell feel it necessary to contend for their country under a system of malversation like this. There was ample room for constitutional jealousy, when, as appeared from various symptoms, the parliament and the country at large were to be subjugated to the virtual control of the king of France, who, in addition to money, was to supply an army to enslave the nation. It was to oppose this base project that Lord Russell left the tranquillity of private life to mingle in the political contentions of the country. We should be grieved if some of those who are so free in quoting the example of this eminent person, had so good a cause for meddling with state affairs. Amongst all the charges levelled at our present rulers, a corrupt and stipendiary connexion with foreign courts has never been suggested.

Another remarkable distinction is observable between the age in which Lord Russell lived and our own,—the purity of judicial administration. The dependence of the judges upon the Crown (for the abolition of which we are so deeply indebted to our late revered Sovereign), and their corruption and palpable injustice, were among the principal causes of the evils which have been stated. The laws were so disgracefully administered, that Mr. Fox, in his historical work, remarks, that the reign of Charles II. is "the æra of good laws and bad government. The abolition of the court of wards, the repeal of the writ *de heretico comburendo*, the triennial parliament bill, the establishment of the rights of the House of Commons, and, above all, the glorious statute of Habeas Corpus, have induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix the year 1679 as the period at which our constitution had arrived at its greatest *theoretical* perfection; but he owns," (continues Mr. Fox) "that the times immediately following were times of great practical oppression." The cause of this we may trace in a great, perhaps a paramount degree, to the perversion of justice. We turn with disgust from the barbarous mockery of legal forms which characterised that age, the disingenuous stratagems of prosecutors, the barefaced perjury of witnesses, the partial conduct and insulting speeches of judges, and often the oppressive and

illegal interference of the crown. Lord Russell's own trial was, upon the whole, conducted as impartially as any thing of the kind in those anomalous times; and his noble descendant, himself, allows that "he seems to have met with fairer usage than he was entitled to expect." The execution of this illustrious victim was indeed afterwards denominated in the votes of the House of Commons, at the accession of William, "a murder;" but we must allow for the warmth of language which that body would naturally feel disposed to employ after the revolution, for those who had suffered in defence of the privileges which *they* were then beginning to enjoy under a wise and equitable monarch, and of which their own Bill of Rights was the key-stone. It would have been generous, or indeed but justice, in Charles to have pardoned Lord Russell; but we cannot wonder, considering the character of the parties, and under the circumstances of those violent times, that he declined to do so. Lord Russell was avowedly bent to oppose his measures, and affirmed that the king and his brother should never succeed in their projects for establishing popery and arbitrary power, without wading through his blood. And if the evidence brought against him on his trial was true, which Charles might assume, as it was confirmed by the verdict of a jury, Lord Russell had already entered into a plot and insurrection against his government, and perhaps his life; and seemed prepared to go all lengths for effecting his avowed purpose of excluding James from the throne. But admitting these, and any other palliations which may be devised, it is certain that Lord Russell suffered under a severe sentence, and doubtless an unjustly obtained verdict; and it must not be forgotten, as Mr. Fox observes in blaming Hume's account of Charles's conduct, that the judicature was under the influence of the Crown; and by the Crown called upon to receive the "detestable evidence" which sealed Russell's doom. But even had the proceedings in this single instance been perfectly legal and equitable, there were trials and executions enough throughout the whole reign (the Earl of Argyle's for instance, and Sydney's among many others,) of a kind to prove the gross perversion of law and justice which then prevailed. Hampden's fine of 40,000*l.* for the Rye-house plot, for which poor Russell suffered capitally, but which could not, even with all the instruments of injustice, be brought home to Hampden in the shape of high treason, was a strong instance of the iniquitous proceedings of the royal brothers. It was the largest fine ever imposed by the court, and amounted to perpetual imprisonment. The Tories were not however exclusively to blame in the perversion of public justice, for the Whigs fully shared their guilt; especially in the numerous

trials and executions which took place for the Popish plot, in which lamentable scene the latter party were chiefly concerned. Mr. Fox, himself, ventures to blame Lord Russell for his conduct relative to one of the victims on that occasion. We have no doubt, however, that Lord Russell fully believed the existence of the plot, and acted from honest conviction, as in his dying avowal he avers himself to have done. He also denied to the last all knowledge of the witnesses having been tempted either with bribes or threats. The Whig part of the parliament, in many instances, wreaked their vengeance upon persons for an alledged crime, when it was well known the real offence was having disapproved of their proceedings on other subjects.

We have alluded to these circumstances chiefly with a view to induce our readers to contrast the judicial proceedings of those times with our own. In all questions between the crown and the subject, our judges in the present day, as well as our juries, are not only unbiassed on the side of authority, but usually, where the scales appear equally poised, throw the turning weight into that of the weaker party.

We cannot forbear also to mention, as another remarkable contrast between the times of Charles II. and our own, the great difference between the characters and stations in life of the state prisoners of the two periods. When we hear of noblemen, bishops, and other persons of eminent station and character, being confined in prison for alleged state offences; and see such men as Russell brought to the scaffold for their political conduct, a natural presumption arises against the government that provoked such illustrious opposition. The conspirators in the present day are the very dregs and refuse of mankind.

We will mention but one point more of contrast, the difference of tone and language currently held by the sovereign to his parliament. In the time of Charles the Second it was alternately that of fawning request or irritating rebuke. The reader has only to compare the following extract from a speech of Charles with the frank, conciliatory, respectful, yet princely, language, which, in modern days, is put into the lips of the sovereign in addressing the Houses, to be struck with the difference between the two periods. The whole speech is an exquisite specimen of arbitrary dictation and mock majesty, mixed with latent fear and impotent threatening. We agree however with our author that it is, in some respects at least, drawn up with "great art and judgment."

"My Lords and Gentlemen:—The unwarrantable proceedings of the last House of Commons were the occasion of my parting with the last Parliament; for I, who will never use arbitrary government my-

self, am resolved not to suffer it in others. I am unwilling to mention particulars, because I am desirous to forget faults; but whosoever shall calmly consider what offers I have formerly made, and what assurances I renewed to the last Parliament; how I recommended nothing so much to them, as the alliances I had made for the preservation of the general peace in Christendom, and the further examination of the Popish plot; and how I desired their advice and assistance concerning the preservation of Tangier; and shall then reflect upon the strange unsuitable returns made to such propositions by men that were called together to consult, perhaps may wonder more that I had patience so long, than that at last I grew weary of their proceedings. I have thought it necessary to say thus much to you, that I may not have any new occasion given me to remember more of the late miscarriages: it is as much my interest, and shall be as much my care, as yours, to preserve the liberty of the subject; because the crown can never be safe when that is in danger; and I would have you likewise be convinced, that neither your liberties nor properties can subsist long, when the just rights and prerogatives of the crown are invaded, or the honour of the government brought low, and into disreputation. I let you see, by my calling this Parliament so soon, that no irregularities in Parliament shall make me out of love with them; and by this means offer you another opportunity of providing for our security here, by giving that countenance and protection to our neighbours and allies, which, you cannot but know, they expect from us, and extremely stand in need of, at this instant; and at the same time give one evidence more, that I have not neglected my part to give that general satisfaction and security which, by the blessing of God, may be attained, if you on your parts bring suitable dispositions towards it; and that the just care you ought to have of religion be not so managed and improved into unnecessary fears, as may be made a pretence for changing the foundation of the government. I hope the example of the ill success of former heats will dispose you to a better temper, and not so much to inveigh against what is past, as to consider what is best to be done in the present conjuncture." (Vol. i. p. 258—260.)

The speech goes on to refer to the subject of the succession to the Throne, the most important of all those momentous questions which at that time agitated the country, and the one on which Lord Russell exerted himself in parliament more than on any other. At first, indeed, he had been averse to the absolute exclusion of James, and wished only for the milder measure of limiting his power. The comparative merits of these two measures not only caused warm debates at the time, but have furnished a fruitful subject of controversy ever since. Charles repeatedly stated to his parliament that he was very willing to adopt any plan they should suggest for removing the fears of the people relative to a Popish successor, except that of destroying the monarchy itself, or cutting off the regular succession. How far he would have performed his promises,

and how far James himself would have felt inclined to submit either to his brother or to parliament, can only be conjectured from the general character and policy of the Royal parties. Too probably in the case of Charles—

> ——————" Ease would recant,
> " Vows made in pain, as violent and void."

Lord Russell, as we have intimated, was at first for the modified scheme; but whether that he became inflamed as he proceeded, or that the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of securing the Protestant faith and civil liberty, in case of the accession of James, presented itself to his mind more forcibly as he contemplated more fully the circumstances of the case; certain it is that he at length became one of the most strenuous advocates for complete exclusion. It is said that when the bill passed the Commons, and Russell was appointed to carry it to the Lords, he ran away with it in his hand in spite of oppotion; though many members of the Commons wished it to be kept back a short time longer, not thinking the Lords sufficiently prepared. Finding they could not withhold him, a number of them accompanied him; and when the bill was delivered " gave a mighty shout." It was thrown out of the House of Lords by 64 members to 30, on which occasion Lord Russell is said to have exclaimed " with a violence," adds our author, " very unusual to his nature: "—" If my own father had been one of the sixty-four, I should have voted him an enemy to the king and kingdom." The Commons, in resentment, withheld the supplies; Lord Russell having declared in the debate, that " whenever the King should free the House from the danger of a Popish successor, and remove from his council and places of trust all those that were for the Duke's interest, he should be ready to give all he had in the world; but till then a vote of money would only have the effect of destroying themselves with their own hand." Lord Russell's dying declaration given to the sheriff upon the scaffold, shows the ground upon which he acted. " If," says he, referring to the limitations proposed by Charles, " they were sincerely offered, and had passed into a law, the Duke would then have been excluded from the power of a King, and the government be quite altered, and little more than the name of a king left. So I could not see either sin or fault in the one, when all the people were willing to admit the other; but thought it better to have a king with his prerogative, and the nation easy and safe under him; than a king without it, which would breed perpetual jealousies and a continual struggle."

The result of the exclusion has happily proved as favourable

to public liberty as Lord Russell himself could have wished: it is however but fair to remark that there would not have been the same equity in excluding James by anticipation, as in setting him aside when he had violated his coronation oath, and thus proved himself unworthy to reign. Lord Russell and his friends could not assuredly foretel, however shrewdly they might *conjecture*, that James would attempt the subversion of the constitution, either in church or state. It was well, therefore, that he had an opportunity of showing his intentions before he was finally displaced.

Our author has given some interesting passages from the debate to which the exclusion bill gave rise. The great importance of this measure, which was afterwards adopted at the revolution, would justify longer extracts than we have room to afford. The friends of the measure urged that every other expedient was incapable of reaching the case; and that if the Duke of York should once become king, he would have such a command both of the army and the revenue that he would be enabled to put in effect his long meditated plans for subverting our free Protestant constitution. A member of the name of Seymour commented with some ability, as follows, on the other side:

"'Sir, I must confess,' he said, 'I am very much against the bringing in of this bill; for I think it a very unfortunate thing, that, whereas His Majesty hath prohibited but one thing only, we should so soon fall upon it. I do not see there is any cause why we should fear Popery so much as to make us run into such an extreme. We are assured there can be no danger during His Majesty's life; so, upon an impartial examination, we shall find there can be no great reason for apprehension after his death, though the Duke should outlive and succeed him, and be of that religion. Have we not had great experience of his love for this nation? Hath he not always squared his actions by the exactest rules of justice and moderation? Is there not a possibility of being of the Church, and not of the Court, of Rome? Hath he not bred up his children in the Protestant religion; and showed a great respect for all persons of that profession? Would it not be a dangerous thing for him (I mean in point of interest) to offer at any alteration of the religion established by law? Can any man imagine that it can be attempted without great hazard of utterly destroying both himself and family? And can so indiscreet an attempt be expected from a prince so abounding in prudence and wisdom? But though we should resolve to have no moderation in our proceedings against Papists, yet I hope we shall have some for ourselves. It cannot be imagined that such a law will bind all here in England, or any in Scotland; and it is disputed whether it will be binding in Ireland: so that, in all probability, it will not only divide us amongst ourselves, but the three kingdoms, one from the other, and occasion a miserable civil war. For it cannot be imagined that the Duke will

submit to it; and to disinherit him for his religion, is not only to act according to the Popish principles, but to give cause for a war with all the Catholic princes in Europe; and that must occasion a standing army, from whom there will be more danger of Popery and arbitrary government, than from a Popish successor, or a Popish king.'" (Vol. i. p. 216—218.)

Hampden's chief argument in favour of the bill, and which our noble author denominates "the best ground upon which it could be placed," was that the principles of Popery tend to the alteration of the government and religion of this nation, and to introduce "superstition, idolatry, and a foreign arbitrary power." Mr. Fox's reasoning on the subject is that "the question of *what* are to be the powers of the crown, is of inferior importance to that of *who* shall wear it;" so that excluding James Stuart was a slighter and less important innovation on the constitution, than admitting him and abridging his power. "If the people," Mr. Fox argues, "be the sovereign, and the king the delegate, it is better to change the bailiff than to injure the farm; but if the king be the proprietor, it is better the farm should be impaired, nay, part of it destroyed, than that the whole should pass over to an usurper." We shall only say upon this, as we have not space to go into the question, that a simile is not necessarily an argument. The most serious objection to the measure in our minds would have been that it was virtually rendering the monarchy elective instead of hereditary, and thus giving countenance to those injurious principles which of late years have so greatly agitated society. It is seldom safe to argue respecting the "rights of man," *ab ovo;* we must contemplate rights as they actually exist in civil society; we must also balance one man's rights with another's; for a Manchester manufacturer or tradesman has as great a "right" to be protected in his person and property, and in the exercise of his calling free from intimidation, as a Manchester radical to assemble his neighbours to hear speeches and sign petitions.

It is some relief to the succession of painful scenes which characterized the age of Charles the Second, to reflect that there was probably much retired virtue and private tranquillity existing in the kingdom, and that many of the public disasters fell but lightly on those who were not immediately exposed to the storm. Russell's own family scene, was one of exquisite attractions. We could dwell on it with melancholy interest, but must pass it by for the present, as we may have occasion in another number to introduce to our readers an original volume of Letters, by Lady Russell, lately published, and which display a picture of connubial and domestic felicity of the most simple and touching kind. The reader will, however, be pleased

with one short specimen from the volumes before us. It is from Lady Russell to her husband, dated September 30th, 1681:

"To see any body preparing and taking their way to see what I long to do a thousand times more than they, makes me not endure to suffer their going, without saying something to my best life, though it is a kind of anticipating my joy when we shall meet, to allow myself so much before the time. But I confess I feel a great deal, that though I left London with great reluctancy, (as 'tis easy to persuade men a woman does,) yet that I am likely to leave Stratton with greater. They will tell you how well I got hither; and how well I found our dear treasure here. Your boy will please you; you will, I think, find him improved, though I tell you so before-hand: they fancy he wanted you; for as soon as I alighted, he followed, calling Papa: but I suppose 'tis the word he has most command of, so was not disobliged by the little fellow. The girls were in remembrance of the happy 29th September,* and we drank your health after a red-deer pye, and at night the girls and I supt on a sackposset; nay, master would have his room, and for heat burnt his fingers in the posset; but he does but rub his hands for it..... I do propose going to my neighbour Worsley's to-day. Would fain be telling my heart more things,—any thing to be in a kind of talk with him; but I believe Spencer stays for my dispatch. He was willing to go early; but this was to be the delight of the morning, and the support of the day. 'Tis written in bed, thy pillow at my back, where thy dear head shall lie, I hope to-morrow night, and many more, I trust in his mercy, notwithstanding all our enemies, or ill-wishers. Love and be willing to be loved by,

R. Russell." (Vol. ii. p. 2, 3.)

The author's access to family papers, with his zeal in investigating and weighing whatever could be found in print relative to his illustrious ancestor, have enabled him to give a copious and peculiarly interesting account of his life, trial, and closing scene. The principal occurrences are too well known as historical facts to need our recapitulation. With regard to the Rye-house plot, at least to Lord Russell's alleged concern in it, we do not differ materially from our author that "the consultations in which Lord Russell took a part, related to the means of resisting the government, but that no plan of rebellion was anywise matured;"—we mean by his Lordship, for we think it quite clear that some unprincipled agents in that conspiracy were for carrying matters to any excess. Our noble author having acquitted his ancestor of the crime of high treason, proceeds to examine "how far he was justified in consulting and debating on the practicability of raising an insurrection;" and after a review of the circumstances of the times, defends him on every other ground but that of "prudence;" the people not being then ripe for such a scheme. In all cases of resistance to govern-

* Lord Russell's birth-day.

ment, remarks the noble author, "prudence is more, perhaps, than any other, a moral duty; for by a mistake in calculation, the lives of thousands may be hazarded, and the chains of the people more completely rivetted." We could imagine that when his Lordship perused this sentence he had in his eye the celebrated declaration of Mr. Fox, before-mentioned, except, indeed, that Mr. Fox contra-distinguishes "prudence" and "morality," while his Lordship makes the one the measure of the other. Against sentiments of this kind, especially at a feverish moment like the present, we cannot too strongly protest; we look upon them with abhorrence. Trembling for the state of the country and the aspect of the times, we feel the necessity of exhorting all classes of society to inculcate in others, and to practise themselves, the sound, christian, and we hesitate not to say *constitutional* doctrine, that submission to authority is an affair of *duty* as well as expediency.

We must pass over Lord Russell's trial with a single exculpatory passage from his Lordship's address to the court, which our author has copied from the original manuscript in Lord Russell's hand-writing, endorsed by Lady Russell "My Lord's own-hand;---concerns his trial:"

"To answer, in short, what is laid to my charge, I do in the first place declare, that I have ever had a heart sincerely loyal and affectionate to the King and government, (which I look up to as the best of governments,) and have always as fervently wished and prayed for His Majesty's long life, as any man living."

"And now to have it intimated, as if I were agreeing or abetting to his murder, (I must needs say,) is very hard; for I have ever looked upon the assassination of any private person as an abominable, barbarous, and inhuman thing, tending to the destruction of all society; how much more the assassination of a prince! which cannot enter into my thoughts without horror and detestation: especially considering him as my natural prince, and one upon whose death such dismal consequences are but too like to ensue. An action so abominably wicked, rash, and inconsiderate, that none but desperate wretches, or mad men could contrive. And can it be believed that, my circumstances, and the past actions of my life considered, I should be capable of being guilty of so horrid a design? Certainly it cannot."

"As for going about to make or raise a rebellion; that, likewise, is a thing so wicked, and withal impracticable, that it never entered into my thoughts. Had I been disposed to it, I never found, by all my observation, that there was the least disposition or tendency to it in the people. And it is known, rebellion cannot be now made here as in former times by a few great men."

"I have been always for preserving the government upon the due basis, and ancient foundation; and for having things redressed in a legal parliamentary way; always against all irregularities and inno-

vations whatsoever; and so I shall be, I am sure, to my dying day, be it sooner or later." (Vol. ii. p. 59, 60.)

Every possible effort was made by his affectionate and heroic lady to save his life; the king and the duke were petitioned, but in vain. The act of petitioning was against Lord Russell's own wish, but he did not choose to afflict his wife with the appearance of a haughty silence towards his sovereign; though he remarked to Bishop (then Dr.) Burnet on the subject of his petition: "This will be printed, and will be selling about the streets when I am hanged." He would not however yield in any article of his opinions to save his life; he strenuously, but modestly and with great gentleness, resisted the efforts of his friends and spiritual advisers, Burnet and Tillotson, to induce him to acknowledge that resistance was unlawful, though buoyed up with the hope of pardon in case of compliance. His wife, that incomparable woman, in whom were united firmness and tenderness, of the most melting affection and the most inflexible principle, supported him in his imprisonment, as she had heroically assisted him during his trial, and never, by the slightest intimation, urged him to sacrifice his sincerity for the sake of his life, or of those he loved far better than life itself.

The week which elapsed between his trial and execution was chiefly employed in drawing up a paper containing an avowal of his principles and conduct. Every sentence was deeply weighed, and submitted to the criticisms of Dr. Burnet, who published the journal of his conversation. The Woburn MSS. contain other interesting particulars.

"Of his own death, he spoke with calmness and deliberate resignation. He often said that he had passed over the best part of his life, for he had lived two parts in three; and he could not think that the remaining third would have been as comfortable as the two former had been. He told his wife that he was so willing to leave the world, he was even willing to leave her. Yet upon receiving a letter from her, when he first went to the Tower, concealed in a cold chicken, he had said that he was at that moment above all earthly things; above Lieutenant, Constable, King, or Duke."

"When alone with Dr. Burnet, he spoke with the greatest seriousness. He said, that, as for death, he thanked God, that as a man, he never was afraid of it; and did not consider it with so much apprehension as the drawing of a tooth. But he said he found the courage of a man that could venture in the heat of blood, was very different from the courage of a dying Christian, and dying in cold blood. That must come from an inward peace of conscience, and assurance of the mercy of God; and he had that to such a degree, that though, from the first day of his imprisonment, he reckoned he was a dead man, it had never given him any sort of trouble. He added, that God knew the trouble he had been in some weeks before, when his son was

ill, had gone nearer his heart, and taken more of his rest from him, than his present condition had done; and that he had had a cholic a little while before, which had so oppressed his spirits, that he saw how little a man could do, if he came to die in such a manner; whereas he had now all his thoughts perfectly about him, and had no other apprehensions of death than being a little gazed at by his friends and enemies, and a moment's pain. Though he had been guilty of many defects and failings (amongst which he reckoned the seldom receiving the sacrament), yet, he thanked God he had a clear conscience, not only in relation to the public (in which he had gone so sincerely, that he was sure he had nothing to answer for but sins of ignorance, and some indecent discourses, in which he had been generally more guilty by hearing them, and being pleased with them, than by much speaking) but in relation to all his other concerns. (Vol. ii. p. 89, 91.)

He could not readily suppress his scorn for the infamous Lord Howard, who had been his betrayer, and had informed against him, and (probably by perjury,) taken away his life. He said, he would not injure him if it were in his power; but he could not help thinking very ill of him and despising him. Burnet satisfied his conscience by quoting to him the fifteenth Psalm, with a view to shew that it is lawful to despise a vile person. He felt no difficulty in writing a letter to the king to be presented after his death; for, he said, that though he never did any thing which he thought contrary to the royal interest, he had used many railleries and other indecent expressions, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and for which he resolved to ask the king's pardon. His preparation for death, and his last interviews with his wife and children, must not be passed over.

"Friday being the day he had fixed for receiving the sacrament, he determined to pass the day as he would have done the Sunday, had he lived so long. The sacrament was given him early in the morning, (his servant receiving it with him) by the Dean of Canterbury (Tillotson.) After he had received it, the Dean asked him if he believed all the articles of the Christian religion, as taught by the church of England. He answered, "Yes, truly." Then he asked him if he forgave all persons. That he said he did from his heart. Then the Dean told him, he hoped he would discharge his conscience in full and free confession. He said that he had done it. Upon which the Dean left him; and Dr. Burnet, in the course of the morning preached two sermons to him. In the interval he told him, he could not pretend to such high joys and longings as Dr. B. had spoken of, but on an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of mind. He said he was sometimes troubled because he had not those longings which were felt by Mr Hampden, a friend for whom he had great kindness and esteem. Mr. Hampden had a few days before, given him, from Mr. Baxter, his book of Dying Thoughts, then lately published, from which he derived great comfort. He said he was

much concerned at the cloud which seemed to be over his country; but he hoped his death would do more service than his life could have done. After dinner, he signed the copies of his paper, and desired it might be sent to the press. He then received a few of his friends, and took his leave of his children. On this occasion, the fondness of a father did not prevent him from maintaining the constancy of his temper. A little before he went to eat his supper, he said to Lady Russell, '*Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together.*' He talked very cheerfully during supper on various subjects, and particularly of his two daughters. He mentioned several passages of dying men with great freedom of spirit; and when a note was sent to his wife, containing a new project for his preservation, he turned it into ridicule, in such a manner, that those who were with him, and were not themselves able to contain their griefs, were amazed. They could not conceive how his heart, naturally so tender, could resist the impression of their sorrow. In the day time he had bled at the nose, on which he said, 'I shall not now let blood to divert this: that will be done to-morrow.' And when it rained hard that night, he said, 'Such a rain to-morrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day.'

"Before his wife left him, he took her by the hand and said, 'This flesh you now feel, in a few hours, must be cold.' At ten o'clock she left him. He kissed her four or five times; and she so governed her sorrow, as not to add, by the sight of her distress, to the pain of separation. Thus they parted, not with sobs and tears, but with a composed silence; the wife wishing to spare the feelings of the husband, and the husband of the wife, they both restrained the expression of a grief too great to be relieved by utterance.'

"When she was gone he said, 'Now the bitterness of death is past.' And he then run out into a long discourse concerning her, saying, how great a blessing she had been to him, and what a misery it would have been to him, if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing to save his life. Whereas, what a week he should have passed, if she had been crying on him to turn informer, and to be a Lord Howard!" (Vol. ii. p. 98—100.)

His views of eternity were solemn and affecting. He spoke with great animation of the new prospects which would open upon the soul on suddenly quitting this world, which he compared to a blind man couched for a cataract; "but what," he said, "if the first thing he saw were the sun rising!" His calm sleep the night before his execution, and from which he had not awoke when Dr. Burnet entered his room in the morning, is among the most exquisite touches of this deeply pathetic history. We could have wished our author had given us, as a companion to this affecting portrait, the parallel case of the Earl of Argyle, more especially as he might have done it by a passage of deep pathos from his favourite author, Mr. Fox, and one which does honour to the heart of that statesman. The

story must be familiar to all our readers. Argyle, though the fatal sentence had been passed, dined as usual, and conversed with his friends; after which, retiring to his chamber, he fell calmly asleep. While he was in bed, a member of the council applied for admittance to his presence, but was told he was asleep, and had desired not to be disturbed. Disbelieving the account, the door of the chamber was thrown half open, and there he beheld, "enjoying (says Mr. Fox) a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man who, by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours." Struck with the sight he hurried away, and hiding himself in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near the spot, he flung himself upon a bed with the appearance of a man suffering under excruciating torture. His friend, concluding he was ill, offered him wine: "No, no," he exclaimed, "*that* will not help me; I have been in at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever a man did within an hour of eternity: but, as for me——" "What a satisfactory spectacle," exclaims Mr. Fox, "for a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! What an affecting and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which he did not want, and knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men whom the world calls wise in their generation."—We are almost angry with ourselves for wishing that Lord Howard had also been introduced to *his* victim under similar circumstances.

We must pass over the particulars of the last awful scene in which the sufferer was so supported by religion, that Burnet attests that he saw no change in his looks, and that there was no trembling, though at the moment in which he looked, the executioner happened to be laying his axe to his neck to direct him in giving him the fatal stroke.

ART. X.—*A System of Education for the Infant King of Rome, and other French Princes of the Blood, drawn up by the Imperial Council of State, with the Approbation, and under the personal Superintendance, of the Emperor Napoleon.* London. Lackington and Co. 1820. 8vo. pp. 173.

"GO through all the predicables," exclaims a schoolmaster, anxious to prompt the tardy genius and invention of a dull pupil in the construction of a theme. We can honestly assure our readers, that we have "gone through all the predicables" relative to the work before us, without acquiring the information which may be expected at our hands. We have asked in due form, *who* is its author, and *what* is its object, and *when* it was written, and *wherefore* it was drawn up, without obtaining any more precise information than that conveyed in the title page, and which is no information at all. Such of our readers as have a taste for problems, may accompany us through the singular obscurities of these pages, which, for our better edification, are given both in French and English, but a great part of which we have found more difficult to comprehend than "downright heathen Greek."

Let us go back to the title page, and extract its information, such as it is, drop by drop. We there find a very familiar phrase employed in a very new sense: "A *System* of Education," means "a thing of shreds and patches;" a collection of hints and enigmas, political and metaphysical, without order, or connexion, or plan. All that we can collect really *systematic* is an attempt to make, by due course of art and artifice, a well-accomplished tyrant, haply, should fortune prove in a propitious mood, "a second Napoleon."

This "System," we are next informed, was drawn up for the "Infant King of Rome, and other French Princes of the Blood." Who these *other* princes are, or were to have been, we are not told, but conclude they were put down by anticipation, and were reckoned as imperial chickens before they were hatched. The experiment was, however, in the first instance to have been tried upon the "Infant King of Rome." Writers have differed remarkably as to the time when the education of a child should commence. Rousseau, if we recollect rightly, would begin not only physical, but moral and even intellectual education "*in cunabulis.*" Others would "trust these things to nature," and allow a child to pick up its religion and principles, and even to learn to read and write, as ducks learn to swim, or "blackbirds to whistle:" we beg pardon, ducks and blackbirds are *taught* these accomplishments by their anxious parents, and with some invasion of their infant rights and liberties.

Miss Appleton, the amiable authoress of "Private Education," in another work of her's just published, and entitled "Early Education, or the Management of Children considered, with a View to their future Character," has shewn very clearly that much may be done for the ultimate benefit of a child by attention to minute circumstances *in its very infancy*. Her work contains many valuable suggestions, and well deserves perusal, though it is somewhat long, and enters into too many trivial details and anecdotes, faults from which those justly-valued publications on nearly the same subject, the "Hints on Nursery Discipline" of Mrs. Hoare, (for why should we conceal her name any more than that of her benevolent sister, Mrs. Fry?) and the "Practical View of Christian Education in its early Stages," by a highly-respected gentleman, who, although well known, chooses to be anonymous, are exempt. Mothers and elder sisters will, however, probably thank Miss Appleton for these little details, which we critics blame; and from which they may learn how to comport themselves with due propriety to their infant charges from the dangerous period in which they first become enamoured of kittens and lighted candles, to the time when the rudiments of the future character are clearly developed. Miss Appleton has devoted a chapter to a *catalogue raisonnée* of children's books. She does not, however, appear to have been very favourably situated for executing this part of her task, having depended on two or three booksellers to send her down into the country what they thought right. She has, in consequence, omitted some of the best little works in the language, and has substituted for them several second-rate productions. Her recommendations are, however, generally very good; but we are credibly informed, that she labours under great literary disgrace in the nursery, for her remark, that "The Baby's Dance," in the Miss Taylors' "Rhymes," is *proh pudor!* "very silly."

We do not profess to be accomplished judges of these grave matters; but as "babies," we suppose, must be danced and sung to, we are humbly of opinion that Miss Taylor's metrical quartette is a very wholesome substitute for the voluble nonsense which nurses are accustomed to pour into the ears of children. It violates no rule of syntax or prosody, which is more than can be said of the "nursery rhymes" of our ancestors; and the assertions contained in it, namely, that the subject of the experiment "capers," and "crows," and "dances," at the proper part of the cadence, is to the full as probable, and quite as elegant, as that "Mother Hubbard went to her *cubbard*," (*scilicet*, cup-board,) or other rhymes which Miss Taylor probably had in her eye, and intended to supersede. We have not touched upon this subject, without mighty fears respecting

our dignity, and should not have ventured upon it at all, but under the safe conduct of "the *infant* King of Rome," and the "imperial council of state," and with "the approbation, and under the superintendance of the Emperor Napoleon."

We have no means whatever of judging whether these parties were really the authors of the strange production before us. All that the anonymous editor informs us of on the subject, is, that "when the imperial family was obliged to abdicate the throne, the manuscript, with a great variety of state papers and original documents, which had been deposited at St. Cloud, fell into the hands of a gentleman *who has enriched his countrymen with many things of a similar nature.*" The name of this benefactor to his country, this "*leonum arida nutrix*," is not added; but we are very suspicious of productions from such prolific sources. We must not, however, forget to add, that the newspaper advertisement which announced the work, stated, what the preface does not mention, that to obviate doubt or suspicion, "the original manuscript of this extraordinary production is deposited at the publishers, where it may be seen." "My great grandfather," said an Irish witness, "built that wall with his own hands, and if your lordship does not believe my word, *there is the wall still in existence to speak for itself.*" Of the probable authenticity of the work our readers will be able to judge from the remarks and extracts which we may have occasion to produce.

The publication is ushered in by a preface from the pen of the editor or translator, in which he ascribes the "extraordinary events" of Bonaparte's life, "rather to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, than to a depravity of morals, or to any great superiority of genius." On this statement we should be inclined to remark, that no concurrence of circumstances could have placed Bonaparte in the situation of Emperor of France, and conqueror and arbiter of the continent, without the union of a considerable portion of the two *other* ingredients which are mentioned as scarcely entering into his character. Depravity of heart was indispensable for a man who was to wade through injustice and cruelty to a throne; nor was talent, at least of a certain sort, less necessary in order to discover the fit conjunctures of circumstances, to plan measures, and to fathom and guide men of various passions and interests, so as to render every thing subservient to the purposes of his personal ambition. Bonaparte possessed undeniably that species of talent, which, in any society, (except, indeed, among truly wise and virtuous men) would have made him a leader. He was prompt, daring, and intrepid; he could be cool and insinuating; and could assume a port and gesture well calculated to command, intimidate, or persuade. The multitude,

and especially soldiery, are not awed or conciliated either by the milder virtues, or by what are usually called genius and talents. It was said, doubtless with great truth, of Bonaparte, in the certificate given of his conduct by the professors of the military college of Brienne, when he was about fifteen years of age, that "*il est assez foible dans les exercises d'agrément, et pour le Latin, où il n'a fini que sa quatrième;*" but in talents of another sort he certainly was not deficient. He, in this respect, greatly resembled Oliver Cromwell; neither of these men knew much of the "*agrémens*" of life, but both had an extraordinary power of diving into the minds of men, and moulding them to their purpose. The work before us developes some of the secret apparatus by which this effect was produced in the case of Bonaparte; "*hypocrisy* and *terror* are here recommended," justly remarks the editor in his preface, "as the most effectual means of governing the world." The book, therefore, whether composed by Bonaparte and his council, or not, is certainly consistent enough with the well-known principles of that "great man."

The work begins, proceeds, and concludes with the most abject flattery to the Emperor—flattery so gross as renders the authenticity of the book suspicious; or at least *would* do so, if Bonaparte's far-famed catechism and other works, which undoubtedly *had* his sanction, had not been drawn up in exactly the same spirit and nearly the same terms. What could even Napoleon himself say to the following passage with which the volume commences?

"In the empire exercised by God over kings the principles ought to be found, which shall regulate the education of the princes of the blood of Napoleon, formed at once to obey and to command. It is necessary they should yield obedience to him *as to God*, since it is *God who conducts him.*

"A king of the blood of Napoleon, proud of the genius to which he owes his royalty, ought to find no less gratification, in the being supported, directed, and governed by that genius.

"Under the influence of great conceptions every thing becomes great. 'Thou desirest to make use of my arm?' said a philosopher to Fate: 'Take it.—Thou desirest my son? There he is.'—The philosopher knew, that Fate would either lead or compel him: and is it not equally manifest, that Napoleon compels whatever opposes him, and leads whatever submits to his will?

"This preliminary being settled, we shall next say, that he who has mastered the age in which he lives, so that nothing dares to resist him, may in like manner command the future, imposing the penalty of impotence on all those passions, by which the future might be agitated: he alone is entitled to prescribe the political principles of the education of the princes of his blood.

"Nevertheless, as man is properly the subject that we must first

understand, and out of which must be formed man the sovereign, let us endeavour to collect the ideas, which appear the best adapted to raise the man to the elevation of the king." (P. 1—3.)

That Bonaparte, as the head of his own family, had a right to conduct the education of his children as he pleased, we are quite despotic enough in our principles to admit; nor do we doubt that he was well qualified to form a worthy successor to his "four planks of wood covered with velvet," as he himself once defined a throne. We must be allowed, however, to doubt how far "God conducted him," unless by that term be meant Jupiter. Jove, we know, on classical authority, had a very efficacious way of "conducting" men to their downfall, in much the same manner as Bonaparte was conducted in the latter stages of his career, in which the "*dementat*" and the "*vult perdere*" of that fabled deity seemed very closely allied. But the subject is too awful for a jest. "*C'est Dieu qui le conduit!*" Nay, not only does God conduct him, but even shares his adoration with him. "Kneeling daily before God, *and before the statue of the Emperor*, he (the Liliputian prince) gives vent to his gratitude, respect, and love." (P. 38.) And again (same page), "Napoleon is the Jupiter who equally disposes of a blade of grass, and the most solemn award of justice, each in its due time;" but for the height, the extravagance, the *Ultima Thule* of impiety, blasphemy, and sheer nonsense, take the following parallel between Bonaparte and the Deity.

"From sixteen to eighteen every thing begins to unfold itself; every thing ferments in the young pupil, the mind, the heart, and the senses; whence arises a sort of indocile inebriation, that renders him hard to be taught. But God and the Emperor will calm this stormy period, if he have been taught from infancy to bow at their names.

"What a resource in the education of our princes we have in two altars, and two majestics, that form the soul of it! a divine majesty, and a human majesty, invisible and visible at the same time, rewarding and punishing in time and in eternity.—To what a pitch will you raise nature, what will you not obtain from it, when you have such lofty means?

"We shall ere long have but one book, the Commentaries of Napoleon; not such, as if he would deign to write them himself, but such as fame has presented them to the admiration of mankind: and we shall learn it by heart, never to quit it.

"God and the Emperor will be the inexhaustible subject of our compositions: it is from these sources we shall derive the talent of writing things worthy of being read, till we acquire the power of doing things worthy of being written." (P. 47, 48.)

We thought, on first reading this passage, that by the "other majesty," was seriously meant the "Apollo Belvidere;" and that the harlequin emperor, not content with being, as we have seen, a Jupiter Tonans, inclined to emulate his graceful rival of Parnassus. The way in which the work speaks of the Apollo

Belvidere, and the matchless lessons to be learned from it, naturally led us into this opinion. No sympathetic reader can peruse the following passage without feeling how deep an injury France has sustained by the restoration of such inimitable works of art, and without mingling his tears with those of the Parisians, who justly deprecated an event not less injurious it seems to the moral dignity and good government of the nation than mortifying to its pride.

" Dazzled with the sun, go and see the Apollo, and be not weary of admiring it: art has produced nothing equal to it in beauty.

" But before your pupil may be capable of exalting his mind to the height of this masterpiece, let him see it frequently, and allow the charm of the model to operate on the imitative propensity of the child: assist its influence, and you will soon see the infant placing himself in the attitude of the Apollo, and endeavouring to assume its noble air.

" But when age and your lessons have imparted to him a feeling of all this statue inspires, you may make him comprehend the great power of the turn of the head, of attitudes, and of forms; which the artist felt so profoundly, that he has surpassed all mortal beauty, and made of him a god. Do not forget the forehead, that beams encouragement on the good; the mouth, that repels the wicked with disdain, and the arm that punishes him. Divine whole! giving at once lessons of the sublime and graceful, of strength and majesty; ennobling in proportion as it is contemplated, and still affording improvement, could the beholder remain always admiring it.

" But if nature do not correspond to your greatness; if she refuse to model your frame, so as to render it consonant with the views of the fate assigned you by your birth; let your eyes be fixed on those divine lineaments, and endeavour to reproduce them." (P. 20—22.)

But we are anticipating; let us revert to the beginning of the work. " The first object," it is remarked, " of this education will be to know how to *lose time* judiciously;" by which oddly constructed assertion is only meant that the period of infancy and childhood ought not to be burdened with intellectual pursuits, but to be employed in " giving a healthy and robust frame by means of exercises and games." Napoleon, if he had any hand in the treatise, was certainly very wise in this article of his system, for a precocity of intellect is never favourable to the full and perfect developement of the powers, either of body or mind. The public is much indebted to Mr. and to Miss Edgeworth for their wholesome suggestions on this subject. It is an essential part of their system that a child should not outrun itself; that it should not read and converse fluently before it has ideas commensurate with its vocabulary, or unfold its infant mind in an exhausting luxuriance to the injury of its physical powers. " A man who during his whole life could never write any thing that was worth reading would find it but poor consolation to reflect that *he was in joining-hand* before he was five years old."

"The memory of the phenomenon of being able to read before other children can articulate," adds Mr. or Miss Edgeworth, "would remain only with his doating grandmother."

Our French preceptor has, it seems, two mighty advantages in his system; for human nature we are there taught is, in the first instance, a spotless sheet of white paper, and on it may be written with the greatest ease the characters of perfectibility. "Il nous suffise que l'homme soit *bon, perfectible*." We could almost fancy that this part of the system had been wrought in the loom of Mr. Owen, of New Lanark; with this difference, however, that Mr. Owen seems to think this natural goodness of heart universal, and without exception, whereas the French sage allows that "the good and the bad are, in their commencement, men *happily or unhappily constituted by nature*, or wisely or absurdly directed by their instructors." The original is more expressive; "Bien ou mal nés, bien ou mal gouvernés." But, says the book, and so say we, "Arrêtons ces généralités;" enough of these generalities; and, let us go on to the next page, where we find Bonaparte and his council moralizing in the most touching manner upon the amiable virtues. "Man, a creature with a thousand weaknesses, is never more strong," they exclaim, "than when he implores; his strength lies in his goodness, and his sympathy." "Two principles govern the world love and fear..... *For ourselves* (Bonaparte loquitur!) *who incline to the principle of love*, we shall say with the poet," &c. Amiable man! and his son, too, what an infant prodigy must he have been to merit the following description: "It may be that nature has endowed your pupil with a genius above your force to direct it: it may be that instead of falling to your lot to excite and animate it, you may unfortunately bring it down to your own level." "Oh, beware of committing an intellectual murder!"

As an illustration of a child rendered "hateful and hopeless" by injudicious treatment, the celebrated Duke of Burgundy is mentioned. The name of that Marcellus gives vibration to a string which has no unison with the key-note from which it was struck. It is quite refreshing to turn from the miserable jargon of wretched metaphysics and worse morality of this "Imperial Council of State," to the wise, manly, and Christian instructions of a Fenelon. Let the reader figure to himself the "Infant King of Rome," educated on the principles of this treatise, (happy for him to have been early removed from the contagion!) and contrast the pride, the tyranny, the hypocrisy, which such a system of royal education was calculated and intended to foster, with the ingenuousness, the really noble spirit, and the Christian piety of that celebrated prince, whose premature death France never recovered. We are

astonished that the author or authors of the work before us could summon the effrontery to allude to a name which should put to the blush almost every precept in their pages. Did Fenelon teach the infant duke to worship "God and the king," or to gaze upon a statue to improve his moral principles? Fenelon found his pupil proud, passionate, tyrannical; so furious, says a French author, that "it was feared the very veins of his body would burst." "He looked upon men as atoms, with whom he had no similarity whatever." But how different his character when moulded by the Christian instructions of that eminent preceptor! The principles upon which he was led to act may be inferred from such of his letters as yet remain. He writes, for instance, to his tutor, in 1701, after four years' separation, caused by the intrigues of those who could as little relish, as dare to imitate, the piety of that apostolic divine: "At last, my dear archbishop, a favourable opportunity presents itself of breaking the silence in which I have remained four years. I have suffered many evils during that period: but one of the greatest has been the impossibility of telling you what I have felt for you during that time, and that your misfortunes only increased my friendship towards you instead of weakening it. I look forward with real pleasure to the time when I shall be able to see you again; but I am afraid that time is far distant. We must commit it to the will of God, from whose great mercy I am continually receiving new testimonies of his grace. I have been often unfaithful to him since I saw you last, but he has been always graciously pleased to recall me to him, and thank God, I have never been wholly deaf to his voice. For some time past I have, I think, kept myself with greater success in the path of virtue. Implore of him his grace to confirm me in my good resolutions, and not to permit me to become his enemy again, but to teach me himself to do his holy will in every thing." This was the approved old fashioned way of making good and great men, before the invention of the more compendious one of effecting it by the contemplation of statues. The duke writes two years after in the same strain: "I still preserve my desire of being devoted to God, and I think it grows fundamentally stronger, but it is thwarted by many faults and much dissipation. I entreat you, therefore, to increase your prayers for me; I have more need of them than ever, being still equally weak and imperfect. I feel it every day more and more. I look upon that feeling, however, as from God, who never wholly abandons me, though I often feel myself indolent and indifferent, which I must endeavour to overcome by means of his grace." Well might Fenelon exclaim, on receiving the news of the early death of his interesting pupil, whom he loved with the affection of a parent, "Every tie is snapped asunder; nothing now holds me to the earth."

But we must return to the work before us; from which we shall extract a passage indicative of its *theology*.

"Vague admiration at the sight of nature, previous to understanding it, and without being able to satiate himself with it, is one of the royal dispositions, that announces a mind capable at some future day of fermenting, and resolving itself into feeling and intellect. It is the germ of that religious spirit, without which there is no religion, and also no futurity; and if we must have at least the hope of futurity, to connect Heaven and Earth, and excite the loftiest thoughts, as well as the most pleasing expectations, let us hasten to cultivate in the royal child this germ of his own happiness, and of that of his people.

"Man requires a future: whatever some may say, it is necessary to him. A throne is not sufficient to fill the mind of a king; and it is because he perceives a void, that he is either restless, or falls asleep on it.

"A future is necessary to glory as well as to wretchedness, to those who suffer, as well as to those who are happy: but what is futurity? merely an abyss of doubts, a word without meaning, unless religion give it one, by filling the heart of man with a hope that satisfies his desires.

"This is the fire concealed in the embers; but let us place no fuel on it. We will say however with the law, that every religion professing to believe in a God, ought to be protected; and the more so, as the God of a nation arrived at maturity is no longer the God of its youth." (P. 17, 18.)

We felicitate those of our readers who can fully understand this strange passage. A vague admiration of nature, it seems, is the germ of religion, and without it there is neither religion nor futurity. We thought it had been very widely recognized upon the continent that religion and futurity consist in certain protuberances of the sinciput of a *reasonable being*,—that is, a being endowed with certain knobs and cerebral developements not found in the lower animals. But it seems the craniologists are mistaken; religion and futurity are nothing more nor less than vague admiration of the works of Nature. We now begin to understand what Lord Byron meant when he asked, in the third canto of his Childe Harolde,

> "Are not the mountains, waves, and skies, a part
> Of me, *and of my soul*, as I of them?"

To be sure they are; and not only it seems a part of the "soul," but the sum and substance of "religion and futurity" also.—There is, however, in the preceding passage (for in spite of the absurdity of such sentiments they touch upon subjects which constrain us to be serious) a reflection which, if duly felt, would lead to better things. "Man requires a future—a throne is not sufficient to fill his mind—he perceives a void—he is restless or falls asleep." Now this very restlessness, this "longing after immortality," is itself one of the strongest proofs of a future

state. Would the Almighty, as Addison finely argues in his celebrated paper on the immortality of the soul, have given us such desires never to be satisfied? Would he have formed a being endowed, if we may so say, with *an appetite* for futurity, if the present scene is to be the boundary of his hopes, and the sole æra of his existence? But if the idea of a future state is well founded, if only it be probable or possible, what becomes of such a system as that under consideration? Is it to educate a being for futurity merely to expand his physical powers, and to give him the port and dignity of a king, but to leave him proud and ambitious, and the most consummate of hypocrites, in order that he may be the most despotic of monarchs? Can we wonder that, under such a system, "contempt of death" is next insisted upon as one of the principles most strongly to be inculcated in the mind of the pupil? Not indeed the Christian triumph which regards death as a conquered enemy, but that culpable recklessness which arises from mere constitutional courage ("le courage de tempérament") and "physical organization." "Vous finirez," say the authors, "*si son organization s'y prête*, par faire du mépris de la mort!" If this were a proper occasion for such reflections we should feel inclined to recommend the reader to contrast the principles upon which the "*Christian* hero" braves death, with the irrational, and worse than irrational, contempt of it, which is here inculcated. Death is, and ought to be, a subject of natural terror; it is only on the principles of the Gospel of our Saviour that it becomes an unarmed enemy and oftentimes a welcome friend.

The second part of the work proceeds to the important article of "Tuition." The necessity of princes being well-informed in "this enlightened age" is strongly insisted upon, as also of their acquiring habits of business and the power of intense application. "Europe," exclaims the writer, "is tired of idle kings; the breath of life with which Napoleon has inspired it, agitates its people and its monarchs." We presume that Europe was as tired of restless and ambitious emperors as of idle kings, when it united its forces to expel the imperial chess-player to amuse himself with a game at *solitaire* in Elba or St. Helena, in place of check-mating kings and "castelling" their territories. The object of the tuition here recommended is pithily expressed in the opening sentence of the chapter. "Princes! born to command, learn how men are to be commanded." The first thing we have already seen is to ensure "a noble demeanour." "It is the *aureola* of exalted nature; it is the glory that surrounds and sympathizes with loftiness of mind." "Acquire," add the authors, "the mind of Apollo, and you will have his sublime air, if you do not possess his beauty." But, above all,

"Assist your weakness with the impenetrable veil of profound silence; excite a fermentation in men's hearts and minds at a distance; perplex them, weary them, in a labyrinth of doubts and conjectures: thus you will reign at least through hope and fear, and, if the philosopher escape you, have no apprehension, the people will be at your feet, and public opinion with them." (P. 22.)

The difficulty of finding a preceptor capable of duly instilling all this into a child is represented as very great. "Power alone can sustain power; the mind of Napoleon alone is capable of reproducing itself in his descendants. Who would dare to undertake a work so sacred and lofty, were he not sustained by his hand?" And again, "where shall we find a mind capable of acting as a conductor to the mind of Napoleon?" The system of education begins with exercising at first only the body and the memory. Next come graceful and dignified reading and enunciation; "from seven to ten is the age of geography;" next succeed the elements of history and chronology. "Of foreign languages," adds the preceptor, "I say nothing; it is the business of nurses to begin them, and of *valets de chambre* to go on with them." Latin seems to be nearly excluded: "We cannot do every thing: it may even be questioned whether the language of Virgil and Horace, should enter into the plan of a royal education." Perhaps this prohibition was intended in compliment to "the greatest of men" who nevertheless as we have heard was "*assez foible*" as to Latin and polite accomplishments. Geometry is to be diligently cultivated, because it "exercises at once the judgment, the memory, and the imagination." Not a word of its being useful in fortification and engineering; these were doubtless out of the question with so good and pacific a prince as the pupil of this system was intended to become; though to be sure we are told in a subsequent page that "the art of war is the art of kings," and that "it is an Achilles that is to be formed," and the study of Homer is strongly recommended "in a translation (Dacier's) which is executed with a taste so pure, and a beauty so perfect." A smattering of the sciences is of course to be obtained, or the education would not be French. He is likewise to study arithmetic, "because one can neither divide nor measure ground without it."

We proceed to the third part of this Machiavelian system for forming "a prince." This part is entitled "Age from sixteen to eighteen." It is written like the former chapters in such an abrupt, desultory, salient style that we are constantly at a loss to discover either the import of single sentences, or their connexion with each other. The obvious intention of this mode of writing was to imitate the well-known style of Bonaparte. If the author had cut his manuscript into thread-papers and

shaken them in a bag together, he could hardly have alighted upon any thing more vague and incoherent than the following passage which opens the chapter.

"AGE FROM SIXTEEN TO EIGHTEEN.

"I hesitated to go on with this period: an unforeseen circumstance inspired me with confidence, and I resume the pen.

"Without assistance the innocent must perish. His innocence, far from protecting him, serves only to draw on him oppression. But if the good man, though under the protection of morality and the laws, be nevertheless exposed to this formidable hazard, when he persists in his duty without considering the opposition of others—what would become of a king, if, neglecting what is done, to attach himself only to what ought to be done, he rested satisfied with feeling indignation at it?—He must perish.

"Man presses on man, kings upon kings. Every one oppresses or is oppressed; and such is the force of oppression in this world, that he, who is reduced to defend himself against it, is reduced to the condition of a prey, whose lot it is to be devoured.

"The truly defensive state is offensive when necessary: give yourself the power, therefore, of acting offensively. It is in vain that history raises you to the clouds by trophies heaped on trophies: the security of the future rests not on the glory of the past, but on the sword that supports you, and ought never to quit your side.

"The only resource of a king is in his arms, always threatenning: man loves according to his fancy, but his fears are as great as you wish to make them. A wise prince will moderate the fear he inspires; but he will rely on it alone, that he may depend only on himself.

"Returning now to the period of from sixteen to eighteen, I shall proceed to establish what I have said of it, that it is the time for strong things, and for the plenitude of instruction, addressed to the man so far as he is a king." (P. 49, 50.)

Farming and visiting "the Hotel of Invalids," are next recommended, as also reading "Plutarch's Lives," and those of "the great men of modern times," and "afterwards those of Louis XI. Ferdinand IV. and Philip II." Then comes a scene most exquisitely ridiculous, invented "to teach compassion" and "to approximate the child spoiled by fortune to other mortals." We shall present it to our readers.

"I will suppose then, without farther reflections, that a complaint reaches me of the prince having ill-treated a guard, who had led him astray at the last hunting party. The complaint is made in writing; I direct him to exculpate himself in writing.

"I know before hand, that there is a mistake; and that it was one of his companions, who ill-treated the guard, by whom he had been misled by my orders. I know, that the prince has reproved him for his violence; and that he must be astonished at finding himself the person accused.

"He brings me his justification. I perceive his heart revolts at the

charge, and spurns it: while at the same time I discern his magnanimity. He defends himself without accusing any one, and thus gives an air of constraint and obscurity to his defence. I remark this to him: he admits it, and is the first to desire, that the guard shall be brought forward. Thus I introduce the scene.

" I caution the prince, not to intimidate the guard, but to speak to him calmly and kindly, as much for the sake of his own honour, as to put him at ease, and call forth those *veræ voces* of Lucretius, of which we had spoken so often.

" On the other hand the guard, a man on whom I can depend, resolute, and well prepared for his part, enters with a respectful and tranquil air. The prince seated, I ask what passed. The guard repeats his complaint, and adds, that he has had the honour of being a carbineer for ten years, and shall never forget this, were he reduced to beggary. At this word, beggary, the prince rises with much emotion: ' That you shall never be, as long as I live:' he says to him: ' But how is it, that you complain of me? You must have taken some other person for me: tell me how I was dressed.'—' Your highness had on a gray coat.' (He was in fact dressed in gray that day).—' But, in short, what did I do to you?'—' You threatened me with your horsewhip.'—' I!—I!'—' Yes, monseigneur.'—' It is false!' (in a passion).—The guard says nothing more, and withdraws.

" Left alone, I say to him: ' Well, prince, you have noticed that tranquil air; you have heard that simple language, that tone of truth, that natural sound of the voice—' He is in despair, and his heart rises against me: he is indignant at seeing me doubtful, and hesitating between him and the guard; me, who must know him, and ought to be more fully convinced than any person, that he would have been the first to accuse himself, if he had committed the fault of which he is accused. His words flow rapidly, and with eloquence: I say to him coolly, that time will discover the truth. ' Yes: yes: it will discover it!' he says with vehemence, and we separate.

" But I take only a few steps, before I return, and say to him with great coldness: ' How could you tempt the veracity of the guard, by assuring him, that, as long as you lived, he need not fear being reduced to beggary?'—At these words, his head reclines on his bosom, as if appealing to it as a witness of the injustice of the accusation. He goes out in the greatest agitation, and I follow him.

" I shall proceed no farther with my description; as this work is intended for a mere summary. I shall only add, that, if the plot of this little drama consisted in the conduct pursued by a party really guilty, the clearing it up would depend on his confession.

" All the skill in managing this affair consists in knowing how to vary, graduate, and prolong the suffering of the prince, to such a degree, that he may suffer without falling into a passion; yet so far as sensibly to feel the effect of calumny on a man of honour: and that Seneca spoke the simple truth, without exaggeration, when he said: ' There is no spectacle so worthy the eye of Heaven, as a good man struggling against injustice and misfortune.'" (P. 56—59.)

We are not aware who was the inventor of this sort of chicane in education; but it is to Rousseau that the world owes the

complete developement of the system. His Emilius is full of these paltry stratagems. If his pupil only asks "what is the use of geography, or astronomy," the book is instantly closed, the maps are rolled up, the tutor and his pupil sally out for a walk early next morning, the sage "makes believe" to lose their way; they are fatigued; noon arrives, and they have not broken their fast; but luckily recollecting that geography had said that Montmorenci was south of the forest, and astronomy that the sun is at the south at noon, the whole affair beams like lightning upon them; they arrive at home; and the pupil values geography and astronomy to the last hour of his life. The reader will recollect a number of similar incidents in Rousseau's volumes; indeed it is almost a remark of course by that visionary author, in every conjuncture in which anything is to be taught, done, or suffered, "I prepared the following artifice." The writers of the imperial system before us have servilely copied Rousseau in this and some other respects without possessing his genius. The very next page to that just quoted, contains a story of losing the pupil in the woods, and keeping him out all night, "choking with thirst, and famished with hunger," but without any end that we can see to be answered by the experiment. Emilius did at least gain a geographical fact in exchange for his breakfast.

Against the whole of this system every honest man must strongly protest. To teach truth by falsehood, and ingenuousness by stratagems, besides being immoral in its tendency, is as absurd as to attempt "to extract sun-beams from cucumbers." We strongly recommend to the admirers of such artifices, Mr. and Miss Edgeworth's excellent chapter on "Truth" in their "Practical Education." It is one of the best chapters in the whole work, and takes up the subject, if not on high Christian principles, at least on those of strong moral feeling and the dignity of virtue. They justly reprobate both Rousseau and Mde. de Genlis, in this important article of education. "There should be no moral delusions," they remark, "no *artificial* course of experience; no plots laid by parents to make out the truth; no *listening* fathers, mothers, or governesses; no pretended confidence or perfidious friends; in one word no *falsehood*." In fact such a system is as futile as it is immoral, for a child soon sees through these flimsy stratagems and learns to despise the inventor. "It is in vain," remarks Miss Edgeworth, "to expect by the most eloquent manifestoes, or by the most secret leagues offensive and defensive, to conceal your real views, sentiments, and actions, from children." We may add that it is as unchristian as vain to "do evil that good may come." How different the system projected for "the infant King of Rome," from that which was so benevolently and

wisely planned by an eminent country woman of our own for "a Young Princess;" a system worthy of herself to have devised and of a Fenelon to have carried into practice.

We must pass lightly over the remaining lessons. They are mostly founded on the same system of laying a trap of adventures to elicit the necessary moral. For instance: "pretending to be tired of their uniform way of life," the tutor proposes an excursion; the first day they find no lodging; the second day they are without bread; the third they are insulted; the fourth they rescue a drowning child; who we presume was half drowned for the occasion as a part of the "artifice;" the fifth they arrive at home "weary and fatigued;" "but not without having given proofs of courage, acquired some valuable knowledge, and conferred some benefits." A "justice of the peace," before whom they had been taken in their rambles, "turns out to be a distinguished man of letters;" and gives "a spirited and amusing account of our adventures in the newspapers." The tutor reads this exquisite morceau to the prince, and tells him it is "the first blast of the trumpet of fame." After this oracular speech he says no more for a week; but gives the newspaper to the prince who reads over the account of his own good qualities in secret. His attendants in the meantime are doubly assiduous; all the world is charmed with his courage and humanity; persons come from Paris and the villages to see him; and "children kiss their hands to him for having saved the life of a child." "Ravished with his conduct," the tutor "accosts him with an air of tenderness," as follows: "Well prince! what says your heart?" To this very sensible question the prince replies: "Ah Sir, what delight! *It is pleasure of all kinds at once;*" a sort of pine-apple flavoured gratification we presume; and then follow the most delightful mutual congratulations! Happy sage! thrice happy pupil! "He turns his face aside to conceal his emotion; I clasp him in my arms, and press him to my bosom: 'Ah prince! I am the first of those whom you will make happy!'"

But, would our readers think it? amidst all these incentives to humility, pride and self sufficiency break out in this hopeful prince. He piques himself among his companions upon his excursion. But his sagacious master gives him the voyage of Columbus to read; and immediately, oh the sanative properties of moral medicine!—"he devours it, and returns it ashamed of his own vanity." But then the reader must remember that the tutor had the advantage of perfectible materials to work upon.

The prince is next taken to see the galley-slaves, whither our readers must follow him for a moment.

"He hears the rattling of the chains and rings, that fetter, and couple together intentionally, the flagitious and the weak, the penitent

and the hardened sinner. He sees their chains fastened, while, crouched on the very irons that hold them together, they take their meal of coarse food, seasoned with rancid oil, and always the same. He counts five thousand of these desperadoes, whose atrocious or sorrowful countenances terrify the spectator of their misery. (P. 77.)

" ' These wretches,' I say to him, ' are not all hardened villains; and are not even those who are, capable of being corrected?'

" On this subject I inform him, that in the United States of America it has been attempted with success: and that no one is abandoned to his fate, but the obdurate culprit, on whom philanthropy has exhausted all its skill, and found all its endeavours frustrated.

" The sages of that country, reflecting on the nature of the wicked, imagined they beheld in him merely a machine out of order, and capable of being repaired.

" The sound sense, that had carried them so far, did not leave them there. They suspected, that depravity in man was nothing more than the last term of a series of misfortunes and bad habits, continually increasing; and that this series might be made to decrease and turn back.

" Struck with this idea, they endeavoured to derive from it the means of cure; and did this with so much success, that what was at first merely the dream of well-meaning men, has become a sure process, the truth of which is confirmed.

" The prince is astonished; he is enchanted with the possibility of restoring to the paths of rectitude all these hardened criminals; a holy joyfulness seizes him, his heart expands, and overflows with expressions of the happiness I have conferred on him." (P. 78, 79.)

Our readers will judge how far it was likely that the imperial council of Napoleon, should trouble themselves about the prison at Philadelphia, which we presume is alluded to in the above extract. We are not sorry, however, that the young prince should learn a lesson from " the sages " who have set so good an example to the world; though we trust those sages were too christian to suppose that " human depravity is nothing more than the last term of a series of misfortunes and bad habits." If the author had said it was the " first term," he would have been nearer the truth. We are happy to know that there are many Christian sages now at work upon a similar reform in prison discipline both in our own country and on the continent, and especially in the Russian dominions, where, within the last few months, the system has been espoused, with great zeal and benevolence, under the patronage of an " Emperor," and an " Imperial Council," whose " sageness " was never better evinced than when they joined heart and hand with some of their southern neighbours to expel from the world the alleged authors and the principles of the book before us.

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